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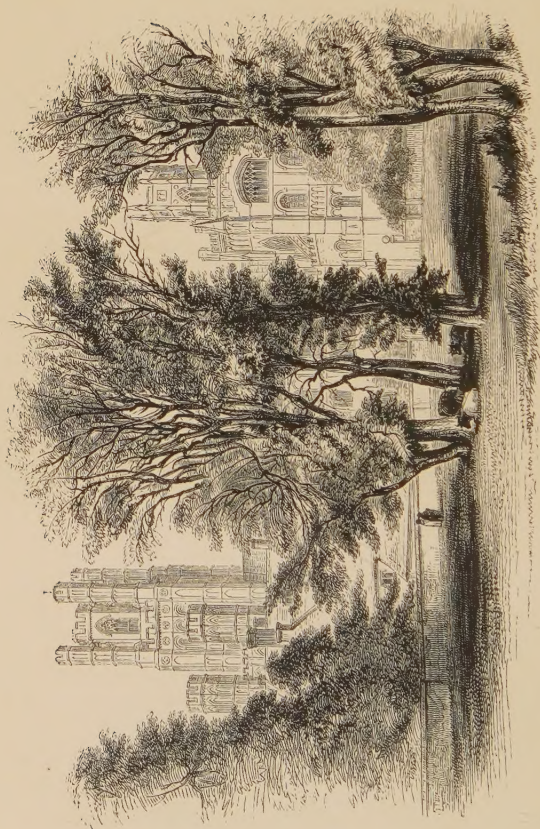
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ELY CATHEDRAL.



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ON THE

ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

OF

ELY CATHEDRAL.

BY THE REV. D. J. STEWART, M.A.,

FORMERLY SACRIST OF THE CATHEDRAL.

LONDON:

JOHN VAN VOORST, PATERNOSTER ROW.

M.DCCC.LXVIII.

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ON THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF ELY CATHEDRAL.

CHAPTER I.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY OF ELY.

THE first church built in the Isle of Ely is said to have been erected through the influence of Æthelberht of Kent, and consecrated by Augustin; but the date of this event is not very precisely stated.*

Ang. Sacr. i.
594.
L. E. i. De
situ Eliensis
insulæ. 15.

This building was destroyed in the course of the wars between the Anglians and the Mercians. Penda, a king of Mercia, invaded the marsh-land and gained a great victory, in which two East-Anglian princes, Sigebert and Ecgric, perished. The lineage of these princes is not well known, but Sigebert is said to have been both a learned and religious man whose greatest object was to spread Christianity throughout his kingdom. While an exile in France, he became a Christian, and on succeeding to his throne brought to England a Burgundian, Felix, who was consecrated bishop of Dumoc, or Dunwich, in East Anglia, and assisted him in founding a school, or schools, like those he had seen in France, in which his subjects might be educated.

A.D. 637. L. E.
i. 1.

Bede, H. E. ii.
15.

About the year 633, a monk, Furseus, came to East Anglia as a missionary, and laboured with Bishop Felix to christianize the kingdom over which Sigebert's authority extended.

Bede, H. E. iii.
18.
Matt. Westm.
ad ann. 636.

Bede, H. E. iii.
19.
Acta SS. Ja-
nuar. tom. ii.
pp. 35, 36.

* "In primitiva etenim ecclesia —L. E. i. De situ.
nascentis fidei et Christianitatis."

L. E. i. 6.

Bede, H. E. iii.
19.
Camden's
Britannia, Vol.
II. Gough's.
157.

Acta SS. Jan.
ii. pp. 35, 36.
Bede, H. E. iii.
19.

L. E. i. 1.
Bede, H. E. iii.
18.

L. E. i. 2.

L. E. i. 7.

Bede, H. E. iii.
18.

Bede, H. E. iii.
8.
Acta SS.
Februar.
tom. iii. p. 387.
Gallia Christ.
iv. p. 365;
L. E. i. 2.

Felix founded a monastery at Soham, on the borders of the Isle of Ely, and the king established two others, one at Betrichesworthe, now St. Edmondsbury, and the other at Cnobheresburg, at the junction of the Rivers Yare and Waveney, in Suffolk, the Garianonum of the Romans, now Burgh Castle. The monastery at Burgh Castle is said to have been built under the direction of Furseus, who was Abbot there about the year 650, but the events of his life are not well known, and by some writers it is supposed that he retired to France about 648, and died at Mazieres in Poitou two years later.

After Sigebert's death in 637, the King of East Anglia was Anna, a son of Æne, the only brother of the Bretwalda Rædwald. Anna was baptized by Bishop Felix while Sigebert was King, and, before he came to the crown, married Hereswitha, daughter of Hereric, grandson of Edwin the Great, King of Northumberland. According to the Liber Eliensis, he had two sons, Aldulphus who was afterwards king of East Anglia, and Jurminus who perished with his father in an attempt to defend their kingdom against the attacks of Penda in the year 654.

The names of four of his daughters are also preserved; Sexburh, who married Earconberht, King of Kent, and became afterwards Abbess of Ely; Æthelburh (*filia naturalis*), who was Abbess of Faremoustier, in France; Wihtburh, or Wihtgyth, who was a nun at Ely, and foundress of a nunnery at East Dereham; and Æthelthryth, who married first Tunberht, ealdorman of the South Gyrvi, then Ecgfrith, King of Northumberland, founded the abbey of Ely, and died there on the 23rd June, 679.

Æthelthryth, or, as she is more commonly called Etheldreda, the foundress of the religious house at Ely, was born at Exning in Suffolk, and was remarkable for personal beauty and gentleness of character. In the

year 652, she was married to Tunberht a prince, or ealdorman, of the South Gyrwas or Gyrvii. The district occupied by these South Gyrvii, or Fenmen, extended over the marsh-lands of Cambridge and Huntingdon, and Tunberht presented the Isle of Ely to his wife as a dowry.*

L. E. i. 4.
Bede, H. E. iv.
19.

Two years after the marriage of his daughter Etheldreda, Anna was killed while fighting against the Mercians, and at the end of the following year Tunberht died. Etheldreda spent four years in retirement upon her estate in the fens, and then married her second husband, Ecgfrith, a son of Oswiu, the King of Bernicia. Her nuptials were celebrated at York with great splendour, and large estates in Hexhamshire were presented to the bride by her husband, who could have been little more than fifteen years old.

L. E. i. 8.

In the year 670 Ecgfrith is supposed to have succeeded to his father's kingdom, and for twelve years nothing is known to have disturbed the harmony existing between him and his Queen; but it was soon after broken up, and she fled from her husband's court never to return.

Very shortly after Ecgfrith's accession to his father's throne, Wilfrith, the Bishop of York, obtained from Etheldreda a grant of her estates in Northumberland, and founded at Hexham a church and monastery dedicated to St. Andrew. It is very probable that Etheldreda then contemplated devoting her property in the eastern counties to similar uses, and that the Bishop strengthened her determination by his advice, and by the influence over her which he evidently possessed.

L. E. i. 8.

* "North and South Gyrwa were probably in the Mark between East Anglia and Mercia: as Peterborough was in North Gyrwaland, this must have comprised a part of Northamptonshire: and *Æðelðryð* derived her right to Ely from her first husband, a prince of the South Gyrwians: this district

is therefore supposed to have extended over a part of Cambridge-shire and the Isle of Ely."—Kemble's Anglo-Saxons, i. 83.

"*Girvii sunt omnes australes Angli in magna palude habitantes in qua est insula de Ely.*"—L. E. i. De situ Eliensis insulæ.

Wilfrith was by birth a Northumbrian, and had been brought up by Ecgfrith's mother, Æanflæd, in the monastery of Lindisfarne. He was the travelling companion of Benedict, the founder of the monastery at Wearmouth, he visited Rome, studied there, became familiar with its ecclesiastical system, spent some years at Lyons, as a student, with his intimate friend Dalfinus, Archbishop of Lyons, and returned to England to exercise a very important influence on the Church.

When the estrangement between Ecgfrith and his Queen was become notorious, the King appealed to Wilfrith, offered him bribes of money and lands, and urged him to exert his spiritual authority, and heal the differences which disturbed their domestic life. Ecgfrith appealed in vain. The Bishop took the Queen's part, and thus made the King his foe for life. "*Dissimulavit autem provide atque prudenter tanquam regi favens, et desiderii sui efficaciam reginæ persuadendum pollicens.*"

L. E. i. 9.

Bede, H. E. iv.

19.

L. E. i. 10.

Acting under the guidance of Wilfrith, Etheldreda sought to be divorced from her husband, and when the King hesitated to consent to such an arrangement, she fled from her home to Coldingham, where the king's aunt, Ebba, was Abbess, and took the veil at the hands of the Bishop of York.

As soon as Etheldreda's flight became known, the King started in pursuit, with the hope of counteracting Wilfrith's influence, and of prevailing on the Queen to return to his court. But his aunt, Ebba, got intelligence of Ecgfrith's intentions, and urged his wife to seek at once a safer retreat than Coldingham could afford.

Etheldreda started immediately, taking with her two of her women, Sewenna and Sewara, and made all speed to reach her own marsh-land country, where pursuit would be difficult. Ecgfrith followed closely, and would have caught his runaway Queen, had not a sudden inundation rendered the roads impassable, and compelled

him and his companions to give up the chase. After meeting with this check he gave up all hopes of overcoming his wife's determination. He went back to York, and afterwards married Eormenburh, sister of the wife of Centwine, King of Wessex.

L. E. i. 11.

The three women continued to travel southward, obedient, as Monk Thomas says, to the divine rule, "*When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another.*" Crossing the Humber at Winteringham, a

St. Matthew x.
23.

parish in the county of Lincoln, about seven miles from Barton, they turned aside to a small village called Alft-ham, where it was possible for them to obtain rest without the fear of being further molested by Ecgrith's followers. They remained there for a few days, and before leaving this place of refuge Etheldreda ordered a church to be built at her expense. Their journey took

L. E. i. 13.

place in the summer-time, and the heat of the weather made the progress of the Queen and her attendants extremely slow: they were worn out with fatigue, and incapable of any further exertion, when they fortunately reached a retired spot, clothed with green turf and capable of affording secure rest to their weary limbs. They anxiously sought repose, and when Etheldreda and her companions awoke from sleep, it was found that a notable miracle had been wrought. The Queen's walking-staff had taken root in the ground, and was become a pliant sapling, with fresh bark and budding leaves.

L. E. i. 13.

About a year after Etheldreda had taken the veil at Coldingham, she reached Ely, and commenced the work which Wilfrith had marked out for her. Her brother Aldulphus was then King of East Anglia, according to the Ely Chronicle, and he favoured her wish to build and endow an abbey within his dominions.

L. E. i. 15.

It was then very easy for laymen to found monasteries for themselves and their wives, to which extensive privi-

leges were secured by royal charters. The teachers and disciples of the new faith required a place of shelter, wealthy converts sought for retirement and protection from pagan persecution, and Christian rulers were wisely ready to encourage the formation of institutions which were expected to be beneficial to the country.

The Danish counties, as they have been called, on the east coast of England, were in such an unsettled state that it has been doubted whether there ever was such a thing as a really independent kingdom of East Anglia. Even at the close of the ninth century, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Bedford were burghs in the hands of the Northmen. Ely, therefore, surrounded and protected by its swamps, was a safe refuge, to which Etheldreda thankfully retreated.

The Four Roman Ways, by E. Guest, D.C.L., F.R.S., p. 15. *Archæol. Journ.* No. 54.

L. E. i. 15, 16, 17, 18.

A.D. 673.

Bede, iv. 19.

L. E. i. 15.

L. E. ii. 93.

Her relatives, Sexburh, Queen of Kent, and her daughter Eormenilda, Queen of Mercia, with her child Werburga, soon followed her example. The old church which had been ruined by Penda was repaired and fitted for divine service; new buildings were erected to accommodate those who were eager to join the new society, and Etheldreda was formally consecrated Abbess of Ely by her friend and adviser, Wilfrith.* All her East-Anglian estates were settled upon her abbey under the direction of Wilfrith, who reserved to himself all episcopal authority over the society. It was at the same time decreed, in a general witan, that, forasmuch as the pious Queen had devoted to sacred uses the estate received as dower from her first husband, no infringement of the liberties of the isle, either by King or Bishop, would be allowed. This decree was afterwards confirmed by Pope Victor.

The religious institution, founded by Etheldreda,

* "In cronicis vero Anglicis et Latinis habetur quod anno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo septuagesimo tertio Etheldretha in

Eli fabricas incepit atque in brevi tempore cætum utriusque sexus Deum timentium sub tramite vitæ regularis collegit," &c.—L. E. i. 15.

admitted both men and women, married* and single, who lived together under a very simple rule:—
 “Omnibus ibi una eadem regula est, præcipua virtus, et prima eis obedientia, amor divini cultus, et decorem domus Dei tota observantia custodire.” L. E. i. 15.

Whether any established usages distinguished it from other societies it is impossible to determine; but as it was exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishops of East Anglia, and under the direction of Bishop Wilfrith, it probably rested with him to introduce whatever regulations were thought necessary. When the Bishop was banished from the dominions of Ecgrith he made Ely his home, exercised there his episcopal functions, and acted as the Queen's adviser and confessor. While he was thus in exile, Theodore, who then held the see of Canterbury and looked with jealousy on the growing influence of the northern see, persuaded Ecgrith and his brother Ælfwine to divide the northern diocese, and make York and Hexham the seats of two Bishops. Wilfrith made up his mind to appeal to Rome against this decision, and he left England for that purpose in the year 677. The journey was tedious, and full of danger: he spent the winter in Frisia, and in the following spring reached Rome. In October, 679, a synod was held there, and Pope Agatho decreed the restoration of the petitioner to his ecclesiastical preferment. At the same time Wilfrith obtained from the Pope a recognition of the rights and liberties of the abbey of Ely, which Etheldreda had long desired. Having remained in Italy till after the festival of Easter in 680, Wilfrith returned to England fully satisfied with the success of his experiment—an

Bede, v. 19.
 Sir H. Nicolas,
 Chron. of His-
 tory, 223.

L. E. i. 19.

* Some of the clergy who retired to Ely with Etheldreda were married. The wife and children of an archipresbyter are mentioned in the *Liber Eliensis*, i. 49. There is reason to believe that

Bishop Wilfrith was married; see *Vita S. Wilfridi auctore Eddio Stephano*. Vol. I. *Scriptores* xv. Oxon 1691, cap. lvii. “*Sanctus Pontifex noster de exilio cum filio suo proprio veniens.*”

appeal to Rome. Ecgfrith, however, cared very little for Pope Agatho's threats, and so far from restoring the Bishop to his temporalities, he put him in prison.

While Wilfrith was absent from England, a violent epidemic visited East Anglia, and amongst its victims was the lady Abbess Etheldreda. She suffered from a swelling in the throat which the skill of her surgeon, Kinefridus, was unable to reduce; he lanced the tumour, and the operation afforded some relief, but on the third day the disease returned with new force, and she rallied only to bid farewell to those who, for seven years, had submitted to her spiritual sway. On the 23rd of June, A.D. 679, Etheldreda died in her own monastery: "Transivit a coenolenta voragine hujus mundi ad cælestis gaudia regni."

Bede, iv. 19.
L. E. i. 21.

She had chosen, as the place of her burial, the graveyard of the church which she had built; and her last request was that her body should be enclosed in a plain wooden coffin,* and committed to the ground.† This wish was carefully complied with, and, in the presence of a sorrowful company, she was laid in the earth.

L. E. i. 22.

Huna, her faithful priest, "presbiter almæ Etheldredæ," retired to perpetual solitude in a small island in the fens, and the vacancy in the monastery caused by Etheldreda's death was filled up by the election of her sister Sexburh, or Sexburga.

L. E. i. 25.

The principal events which have been noticed in the above sketch of Etheldreda's life are the subjects of the sculptures on the bases of the tabernacles which decorate the piers of the great lantern built by Alan de Walsingham. The decorations are intended to represent—

1. Her marriage with Ecgfrith;
2. Her taking the veil at Coldingham;

* "Ligneo in locello sepulta."—Bede, H. E. iv. 19; L. E. i. 21.

† "Sanctæ matris celebravit exequias, et eam non in lapide celato

aut arcubus auro circumtectis, sed sicut ab ipsa mandatum acceperat in cimiterio ecclesiæ juxta suos sepelivit."—L. E. i. 22.

3. Her escape from Egfrith ;
4. Her staff budding while she slept ;
5. Her induction to the abbacy ;
6. Her death and burial ;
7. Her translation ;
8. A miracle wrought by her merits after she was canonized.

Sexburga, or Sexburh, the second Abbess, was the widow of the King of Kent, Earconberht, by whom she had four children. She held the office for twenty years, and during her presidency the first translation of her sister's body took place.

The translation of Etheldreda is among the earliest examples of the removal of a dead body from its grave in order to make it an object of worship, and the ceremony was conducted with every circumstance of pomp likely to influence the crowd summoned to witness the proceedings. During sixteen years her remains had rested in the churchyard close to the church which she had raised, and in the midst of the religious community she had gathered round it, but Sexburga had for some time resolved to carry out a scheme which she knew to be acceptable to the feelings of those then dwelling under her rule.*

L. E. i. 26.

The brethren connected with the abbey were directed to find stone out of which a proper shrine could be made, but as Ely was then surrounded on all sides with water and swamps and no stone existed in the isle, they took a boat and went to a deserted spot called Grantecester,† “*civitatulam quandam tunc temporis desolatam*,” to look for some. While they were walking up and down to see what was to be got, they found near

Bede, H. E. iv.
19.

* “*Laudant cælibes feminæ dictum quod audiunt ac prope astantes gratulantur ex voto.*”—L. E. i. 25.

† It is difficult to determine the

site of Granta cæster. See remarks by Professor Babington in the Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, No. iii. 8vo series, 8. 18.

the walls of the city, at a place called *Ærmeswerch*,* a white marble sarcophagus ready made, which was conveyed to the boat or barge in which they had made their journey, and carried to Ely, where it was received as a divine gift, indicating the propriety of paying honour to the remains of their foundress.

L. E. i. 26.

On the day appointed for the translation, the inhabitants of the abbey were arranged in two parties, the men on the one side, and the women on the other, round a tent which had been raised over Etheldreda's grave.

Kinefrid, the surgeon who had attended her in her last illness, and Wilfrith, her confidential adviser, who had by this time got out of prison, and become reconciled to Theodore, were summoned to act as witnesses of whatever might take place in connection with the ceremony. The mound of earth indicating the spot where the body had been buried was shovelled away, the grave was opened, and the wooden coffin lifted out. Sexburga and her assistants drew near to receive reverentially the bones of her sister, and entered the enclosure which protected the grave from general observation.

L. E. i. 27.

But in a short time it was proclaimed to the spectators that a great miracle had occurred, and that the body of Etheldreda was entirely free from corruption. No trace was left of the disease under which she had died, and a slight scar on the neck was the only mark left of the surgical operations by which Kinefrid had attempted to save her life.

Bede, H. E. iv.
19.

L. E. i. 28, 29.
Bede, H. E. iv.
19, 20.

The sarcophagus in which her remains were then placed at once miraculously adapted itself to her figure, the lid closed so tightly that no joint could be discovered, and a variety of miracles were wrought by the grave-clothes in which her body had been swathed. The wood of her old coffin was found to have the power of restor-

* *Ærmeswerch* means probably nothing more than "near the fen."

—See *The Four Roman Ways*. E. Guest. *Archæol. Journal*, No. 54.

ing sight to the blind, and a fountain burst forth from the place where her body had lain. The first translation of Etheldreda is said to have taken place October 17, Oct. 17, A.D. 695.
A.D. 695.*

Sexburga died about four years after the removal of Etheldreda's body from her grave to the interior of the church, and she was buried, according to her own directions, behind the shrine of her sister.† Her daughter Eormenilda, widow of Wulfere, King of Mercia, then A.D. 699. became Abbess, and at her death the office was continued in the family of the foundress by the appointment of Werburga, Eormenilda's only daughter. Eormenilda was buried beside her mother.‡

From this time there is nothing known of the history of the abbacy till the Danish irruptions in the ninth century, when the church at Ely was burnt and many of the monks were put to the sword. When the approach of the Danes was made known, the inhabitants of the district between Huntingdon and Cambridge fled for safety to Ely, trusting to the merits of Etheldreda, and to the natural difficulties to be overcome in crossing the swamps surrounding the island. But the abbeys in the Fenland all shared one and the same lot. Croyland, A.D. 870. Peterborough, and Ely were sacked and burnt. Chron. Sax. Æd- L. E. i. 39.mund, the prince of East Anglia, fought a battle with the Danes at Heglesdon, in which he was beaten and put to death with great cruelty, on account of his refusal

* This is the date given in the Gale MS., and by Bede, iv. 19. In the Ely MS. the year of her death is also that of her translation. "Translatum est itaque egregium corpus pretiosissimæ virginis et reginæ insignis Etheldrethæ anno videlicet ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo septuagesimo nono sub die kalendarum Novembrium sexto decimo,

et in ecclesia beatæ semper Virginis Mariæ, quam ipsa a fundamentis construxerat, collocatum, ubi usque hodie in maxima veneratione habetur," &c.—L. E. i. 28.

† "Sepulta est in decenti loco post beatissimam sororem suam."—L. E. i. 35.

‡ "Juxta matrem suam requiescit condita."—L. E. i. 36.

to renounce the Christian faith. He was bound to a tree, pierced with arrows, and beheaded. His martyrdom is the subject of one of the alto relievos on the tomb of Hugh de Northwold, Bishop of Ely.

A few of the residents at Ely escaped from the Danes and, some years afterwards, repaired the ruined church ; but Burhred King of Mercia * had seized and appropriated the revenues of the Isle of Ely, and the monastery never recovered from the spoliation it had suffered till King Ædgar made it a Benedictine foundation in the tenth century, with the advice and assistance of Bishop Æthelwold.

L. E. ii. 1.

Æthelwold, Abbot of Abingdon, and afterwards Bishop of Winchester, was an active supporter of Dunstan in establishing the Benedictine rule in this country. He dismissed the secular canons from Abingdon and Winchester, translated the rule of the new order from Latin into English ; and was rewarded by the King with a grant of the manor of Suthburn, or Sudburn, in Suffolk.

L. E. ii. 37.

Sygedwold, an ecclesiastic, and Thurstan, a Dane, were, at this time, competitors for a grant of the principality of the Isle of Ely ; but the sheriff of the county, Wolstan of Delham, reminded Ædgar that Etheldreda had founded a monastery there, and that it would be best to dismiss both the applicants, and restore the Isle to its original uses as an endowment of the Church. Although the Isle had been vested in the Crown since its seizure by Burhred, Ædgar acknowledged the justice of this proposal, and Æthelwold was commissioned by him to restore the church and monastic buildings, and to build new habitations if they were necessary.

L. E. ii. 2.

* "Totam Helyensem insulam Ingulphi. Oxoniæ, 1684, p. 25.
fisco suo applicavit." — Historia

Accordingly, in the year 970, Bishop Æthelwold dismissed the secular clergy from Ely, and introduced a body of Benedictine monks.

L. E. ii. 3.

He purchased from King Ædgar, for £100 and a golden crucifix, the whole isle and considerable estates lying near to it; and, by a royal charter signed at Wlfamere, the new society was founded, and the first Abbot, Brithnoth, appointed. Æthelwold, having repaired and enlarged the monastery, endowed it with the lands purchased from the King, and with some property of his own. The church was re-dedicated by Dunstan, the east end to St. Peter, and the south side to the Virgin Mary; and Etheldreda's body was left where it had been placed by her sister Sexburga, in a shrine, above ground, near the high altar.* The bodies of Sexburga and her daughter Eormenilda appear to have been left undisturbed. The body of Anna's youngest daughter, Wihtburga, had been treated like that of her sister Etheldreda; it had been removed from the grave, and enshrined in the church at Dereham, where she had founded an abbey. But the Abbot and monks of Ely felt that their church, as it far surpassed that of Dereham in importance, ought to contain the relics of all King Anna's daughters, and they accordingly determined to get possession of Wihtburga's body. The manor of Dereham having been given by King Ædgar to the monastery at Ely, Abbot Brithnoth held a court at Dereham, and gave a great feast, to which all the inhabitants were invited. While the feasting was in progress, the Ely monks contrived to steal the body of Wihtburga out of the church, and to drive away with it in a cart to Brandon, where

L. E. ii. 4.

L. E. ii. 5.

L. E. ii. 3.

L. E. ii. 52.

* "*Corpus autem beatissimæ virginis reginæ Ætheldredæ in ecclesia secus altare majus, in loco quo transtulerat illam S. Sexburga, invenit venerandus pater Æthel-*

woldus, quam certissime intentatam et ininspectam, non sub terra delitescentem, sed desuper eminentem reliquit. . . ."—L. E. ii. 52.

they placed it in a boat which was waiting in readiness to take it to Ely. A star of unusual brilliancy enabled them to see their way so clearly that they had reached Brandon before the people of Dereham found out what had happened. A very vigorous pursuit was then commenced, but to no purpose; the monks of Ely reached the Island of Tidbrithti * in safety, and Wihtburga's body was taken thence in great state to Brithnoth's cathedral, and placed beside the shrine of her sister Etheldreda.

L. E. ii. 53.
8th July, 974.

Ely had now got possession of the bodies of Etheldreda, Wihtburga, Sexburga, and Eormenilda; and through the powerful influence of Abbot Brithnoth and Bishop Æthelwold the monks were enriched with the various estates enumerated in the second book of the *Liber Eliensis*. Æthelred II. gave the Abbots the dignity of chancellor in the King's court, a favour bestowed also on the foundations at Canterbury and Glastonbury; and, under such favourable auspices, the monastery remained undisturbed till another national convulsion threw the chief powers of the kingdom into fresh hands.

L. E. ii. 101.

On Christmas Day, 1066, William the Norman caused himself to be crowned at Westminster by the same Ealdred, Archbishop of York, who had anointed Harold. He swore, before the altar of St. Peter, in the presence of clerks and laics, to defend the holy churches of God and their rulers, to enact just laws, and to have them observed. This promise was very imperfectly kept.

L. E. ii. 100.

Harold had bestowed the abbacy of Ely on Thurstan, a Fenman, born at Witchford, near Ely, who had been brought up in the monastery, and had acquired the rare accomplishment of reading Latin as well as English. Ægelmar was, at this time, Bishop of the East Angles, and Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury; but one of

L. E. ii. 101.

* Now called Turbutsea.

William's first acts was to deprive these two ecclesiastics of their preferment, and appoint Normans to the vacant sees.

To remove Thurstan was no such easy matter. He had a grateful remembrance of the King who had advanced him to his abbacy; he dwelt in a position naturally fortified by swamps and marshes, and he determined to defend it against William, and to support the claims of Ædgar Ætheling. The Isle of Ely became, in consequence, a refuge for all the English who refused submission to the arbitrary code of the foreigners.

Ædwin, earl of Chester, and his brother Morcar, earl of Northumberland, fled from William's court to Ely, where they were joined by Hereward, a young noble distinguished for his valour and daring. Ingulphus

speaks of Hereward as a pattern of Anglo-Saxon chivalry, and, indeed, his gallant defence of the marsh-land would naturally excite the admiration of one who looked on the usurpation of William as a deep blow to the prosperity of his Church and country.

Hereward was the son of Leofric, Earl of Mercia and Chester, and Lord of Brunne, or Bourne, in South Lincolnshire, by his wife Ediva, or Godiva, and, having been concerned in many acts of violence which provoked the displeasure of Edward the Confessor, he went as an exile into Northumberland, and thence wandered to Cornwall, Ireland, and Flanders.

During this banishment he gained the highest reputation as a soldier of unusual skill and great personal bravery. In every danger he was foremost, and yet escaped untouched; in every conflict he measured swords with the ablest amongst his opponents, and gained the mastery. The renown of the young exile reached England; and the jealousy with which his old companions regarded his superiority gave way to just pride in the fame he was gaining abroad for their

L. E. ii. 102.

Historia Ingulphi. Oxoniæ, 1684, p. 67.

De gestis Herwardi Saxonis. Chroniques Anglo-Normandes par Francisque Michel, Rouen, 1836. Excerptum de Familia Herwardi.

Publications of the Caxton Society, 1850-1854.

native land. He married a noble lady of St. Omer, named Turfrida, and settled in Flanders, apparently without any intention of ever returning to England; but when the news reached him that William was sorely oppressing his countrymen, his old associations were revived, and he hastened to cross the seas and join his former brethren in arms.

He arrived at Bourne in the year 1068, and found that his father was dead; that his own inheritance had been given by the new King to one of his Norman partisans, Ivo de Taillebois, that his younger brother had been murdered, and that his widowed mother was sinking under the indignities to which she was exposed. Fired with indignation at the personal injustice with which his family was treated, and at the general distress produced by many of the Norman conqueror's enactments, he fell suddenly on Taillebois and his followers, drove them out of Lincolnshire, and took possession of the estates to which he was entitled by descent.

The refugees at Ely, when they heard of this repulse of their common foe, sent a messenger to entreat Hereward to take the command of all the forces they could collect; for, notwithstanding the confidence felt in the strength of their position, a commander whose name was well known was specially needful to sustain the courage and direct the operations of the beleaguered band.

Hereward accepted the dangerous task, and prepared for the struggle by thoughtfully observing a national ceremonial which his Norman opponents treated with scorn. Taking with him two chosen followers, Winter and Grenoch, he went to Peterborough, and besought Abbot Brand, his uncle, to give the sanction of the Church to the enterprise he had undertaken. A night was spent in prayer, and on the morrow, during the celebration of the mass, he was solemnly invested with a sword which

he had previously offered at the altar. He then returned to Ely and engaged himself in its defence.

Historia Ingulphi. Oxoniæ, 1684, p. 70.

In the summer of 1069, the Normans invested the Isle under the direction of the King himself, who encamped near the Ouse, and attempted to reach his opponents by making a road across the morasses on the western side. Hereward destroyed the causeway as fast as it was made, cut off all stragglers, and so harassed William's troops that the King made peace by a formal treaty, and retired to Cambridge, with the loss of his provisions, his implements of war, and his time.

The Normans were, for a time, depressed by the success of a combined army of Danes, Irish, and Scotch, in Yorkshire, and the fens had rest till the spring of 1070, when the King broke the treaty of peace, and executed great cruelties on every one that fell into his hands.

He posted troops at Reche and Brandon, and attempted to construct a fresh causeway at Aldreth, which would open an easy approach to Ely; but his works were washed away, his soldiers were drowned, and his army was foiled.

Ivo de Taillebois, who had lost the estates at Spalding granted to him by the King, proposed various stratagems for gaining the marsh-land; but Hereward entered the Norman camp in disguise, became acquainted with the designs of his foes, and met them with more successful counter-schemes.

The Normans built watch-towers of wood; but Hereward burnt them: a witch was found, who promised to overcome the Saxons by spells; but her incantations were powerless: Fenmen were hired by the King's officers to bring sedge, hurdles, and timber for constructing roads; but the Fenmen were Hereward's soldiers in disguise, who fell upon their employers and slew them.

L.E. ii. 102.

L.E. ii. 106, 107.

This vigorous resistance was not limited to the island on which the monastery of Ely stood. Hereward acted offensively as well as defensively: he found his way to the sea, by the Ouse and Welland, and dispersed the Norman ships which were watching the coast, to prevent the landing of any reinforcements for his army, and he would have prolonged indefinitely the defence of the Isle but for the treachery of the monks. While he was strengthening the position of his little army, the Abbot and some of the monks made their way to Warewic, and had an audience of the King: "*Stetit itaque abbas Elyensis Thurstanus cum suis monachis coram rege magno Willelmo orans et deprecans per misericordiam Dei ut averteret iram furoris sui ab eis.*" They dreaded William's anger, and promised entire obedience to his authority if he would spare their church and city.

L. E. ii. 109.

In the early part of the year 1071, the King's army again advanced into the fen country, and in the course of the summer, while Hereward was absent, the Normans got possession of the Isle of Ely, and treated its defenders with great cruelty. Many were put to death, others had their eyes put out or their hands and feet cut off, and some were imprisoned for life.

Hereward escaped, and retired to his own estates at Bourne. His uncle, the Abbot of Peterborough, died during the Marsh-land war, and was succeeded by a Norman nominee of the King's, named Torauld, whom Hereward seized and put in bonds till he had paid a heavy fine, and yielded up the properties of his predecessor. Ædwin, Earl of Chester, was slain during the war; but his brother Morcar survived, and was sent as a prisoner to Normandy. Their sister Lucia is said to have married Ivo Taillebois, who succeeded to their estates, and settled in Hoyland, the neighbour of his

L. E. ii. 110.

rival and superior, Hereward. Ægelwin, the Bishop of Durham, died in captivity at Abingdon.

The first act of the King on obtaining entrance to the Isle of Ely was to garrison the monastery with Norman soldiers, and levy a heavy fine of £666 13*s.* 4*d.* on the monks. He allowed Thurstan to retain the office of Abbot for life, and then appointed Theodwin, a monk of Jumiege, in Normandy, to be his successor. As soon as Thurstan died, the King sent an officer to Ely to seize all the plate belonging to the monastery and transfer it to the royal treasury. A large amount of gold and silver had been concealed at Wentworth, a few miles from Ely; but it was discovered, and sent to Winchester, which, as it had been the capital of the Saxon Kings, was then the residence of the Norman Court.

L. E. ii. 112.

A.D. 1076.

Theodwin, however, would not tolerate this spoliation of the monastery, and declined to enter on the duties of his office till all the wealth which had been carried away by the crown officers was restored. He did not live long in the enjoyment of his preferment, and on his death the properties of the abbey were again seized by the crown, and a Norman monk, Godfrey, appointed as administrator, who remained there for seven years and then went to Malmesbury as Abbot. During his administration, a royal commission was issued to inquire into the rights and liberties of the abbey. On the 2nd April, 1080, the commissioners met at Kentford, a small village in Suffolk; and, after an examination of the claims of the Abbot and monks, presented a report to the King, in which they stated that the Queen, Etheldreda, had possessed from the beginning the complete sovereignty of her dominions; that her rights had been recognized by King Ædgar, King Æthelred, and King Ædward; and, lastly, that Bishop

L. E. ii. 113.

A.D. 1079.

A.D. 1086.

L. E. ii. 116.

Æthelwold had denounced all those who should at any time attempt to violate these liberties.

L. E. ii. 117.

The King adopted the recommendations of this report, issued orders to the sheriffs of the counties to put the Abbot of Ely in possession of all the powers and privileges enjoyed by the abbey at the period of King Ædward's death, and appointed as Abbot a relation of his own, Simeon, Prior of Winchester, and brother of Walkelin, Bishop of that see. Simeon had been brought up as a monk at St. Ouen, and was an old man, in his 87th year, when he came to Ely; nevertheless, he showed great activity in recovering the estates which had been alienated from the abbey; and, like his brother at Winchester, began to build a new church and to reconstruct the whole monastery:—"Novo scilicet ecclesiam Eliensem suscitans fundamento, reliquasque officinas toto annisu coëdificans."

L. E. ii. 118,
and Ang. Sac.
i. p. 611.

L. E. ii. 137.

He died in the year 1093, having done little more than lay the foundations of his proposed church, although he had been Abbot for fourteen years, according to the *Liber Eliensis*.

L. E. ii. 139.

After Simeon's death, Ranulph Flambard, the chancellor and justiciary of William II., and afterwards Bishop of Durham, seized the abbey lands in the King's name, and farmed them for seven years on behalf of the Royal Treasury, till the King's death on Aug. 2nd, 1100.

L. E. ii. 141,
142.

Three days after this event, on the 5th August, Henry I. was consecrated by Maurice, Bishop of London; and at the same time he bestowed the Abbacy of Ely on a Norman monk, Richard, who had been brought up in the monastery of Bec, in Normandy. Richard was no sooner installed than he became involved in discussions with the King, and also with the Bishop of Lincoln, who claimed the rite of investiture with respect to

the Abbots of Ely. The King accused his nominee of contempt for the royal authority, and commanded him to resign his pastoral staff; but Richard refused, and determined to lay all his grievances before Pope Paschal.

Eadmeri Hist.
Nov. lib. iii.
p. 67.

He went to Rome, accordingly, in the year 1103, in company with Anselm, whose object was to obtain from the Pope a recognition of the King's right to investiture. Anselm's mission ended in a compromise, but Richard's claims were admitted, and on returning to England he was restored to the full possession of his abbacy.

Flor. Wigor
ad. ann. 1103.
L. E. ii. 143.

The church begun by his predecessor had been, no doubt, left standing unfinished ever since his death; but as soon as Richard's disputes with the King and Bishop were ended, it is said that he made it his business to complete what Simeon had commenced.

The accounts of Richard's actual share in the erection of the cathedral are, however, rather brief and unsatisfactory; for, although there is no doubt that he undertook to carry out the plans adopted by the first Abbot, it is impossible to make out, with certainty, in what state he found the fabric when he took it in hand, or what stage of completeness it reached under his superintendence.

It is, no doubt, stated in some of the chronicles of the abbey, that he built the church entirely; but, in the fuller and more complete ones, this statement is modified.

In the Lambeth version of the Abbot's life, which Wharton followed, there is the following passage:—

“ Ubi Ecclesiam suam a prædecessore suo inceptam edificavit; in quam quidem ecclesiam corpus Etheldredæ transtulit ininspectum de veteri ecclesiæ, *i. e.* de loco in quo Sexburga eam collocaverat;” but in the copies of the Liber Eliensis which are preserved at Ely and Cambridge, Richard is merely said to have

Ang. Sac.
i. 613.

gone on with the building as long as he was Abbot, as if he did not live long enough to complete it.

L. E. ii. 143.

“ Ut ad perficiendum idem opus studiosius insisteret, ut huic operi solum vacaret, totum studium specialiter admovit, tamque decenti forma et quantitate quantum potuit quoad vixit ecclesiam a predecessore suo inceptam ædificavit; ut si fama non invidet et merito et veritatis titulo utpote mendax veritatem non detrahat, in eodem regno cunctis ecclesiis vel antiquitus constructis vel nostro tempore renovatis, jure quodam compositionis et subtilis artificii privilegio et gratia ab intuentibus merito videatur preferenda.”

The chronicle from which this passage is taken, is the most valuable which exists. It was written by one of the Ely monks, Thomas by name, who lived about the middle of the twelfth century, when Richard had been dead nearly fifty years, and consists of a compilation of earlier records, which are used as an introduction to the account of events which happened within the writer's own observation. Thomas tells us that Richard kept his masons at work throughout the years which he passed at Ely with its monks, and that his church was regarded as a marvel of architectural skill; but he confines himself to statements of this general kind.

In the year 1106, the fabric was so far completed that the bodies of Etheldreda and her relatives were solemnly rearranged in the new presbytery. This translation* was made with great pomp and ceremony: the leaden coffins in which Æthelwold had sealed up the remains of Sexburga and Eormenilda were opened, and their contents examined; but Etheldreda's sarcophagus

* “ Diem statuit, videlicet decimo sexto kal. Octobris, quo et prima ejus translatio una cum nova celebretur.”—L. E. ii. 144.

“ Translate sunt autem sanctæ

anno incarnati Verbi millesimo centesimo sexto, quo quondam B. Etheldreda translata est die.”—L. E. ii. 145.

was treated with more respect, and her remains were not disturbed.

The bodies of the four saints were arranged to the east of the high altar, and probably in two lines.

Thus much, then, can be made out of the scanty information afforded by the *Liber Eliensis* with respect to the history of the Norman Church; viz., that Abbot Simeon merely laid the foundation of an edifice which he never completed; and that his successor, Richard, did so far finish it, that he was able to translate to it the remains of the four Abbesses, and place them in two lines behind the high altar.

CHAPTER II.

ACCOUNT OF THE REMAINS OF THE FIRST NORMAN
CHURCH.

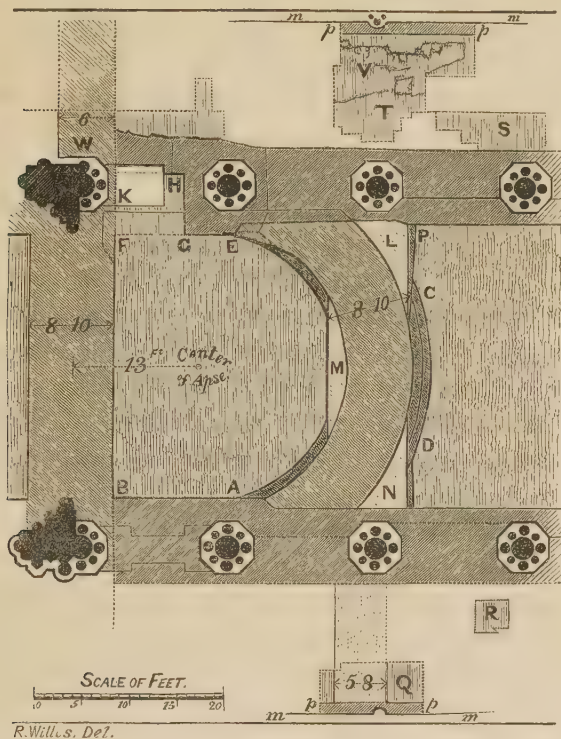
IT will be interesting to turn now from documentary evidence to that which the fabric itself supplies. The repairs which have been carried on lately in the cathedral have afforded opportunities of examining the disposition of the original building, and showing the changes made in Sineon's plan by his successor.

The following account of these alterations has been communicated to me by Professor Willis, who was fortunately on the spot when the old foundations were brought to light, and undertook the direction of the excavations required to develop their plan.

“In the year 1850, and in the course of the works for the removal of the stalls and the construction of a new pavement, the whole of the existing pavement of the central alley of the presbytery was taken up, and the original foundations of the first Norman church were then disclosed. As these appeared to differ in many particulars from the plans given by Essex, trenches and excavations were dug as far as the safety of the building and the sepulchral vaults would permit, so as to expose the construction of the walls and their depths.

“The result of these investigations is shown in the accompanying plan. In this plan the parts slightly shaded show where the pavement was taken up. The

whole of the central portion of the presbytery was uncovered, but the side aisles are so occupied with large monumental slabs and sepulchres, that it was very diffi-



cult to find places in them that admitted of being uncovered and examined.

"In the central aisle are the foundations of a large apse, placed considerably more to the east than in Essex's plan. The centre of the semicircle was ascertained with great care, on the spot, by planning the foundations by ordinates, and verifying the results by sticking a stake in the ground, and trying the lines of the curved walls with a string swinging round the stake as a centre. From this it resulted that the central point was thirteen feet to the east of the line joining

the centre of the great shafts of the Norman piers, which still hold their place between Northwold's work and Hotham's. The foundations of this Norman apse are entirely traversed at the sides by the foundation walls of the Early English piers of Northwold's work. It seems that the Norman foundations were not considered trustworthy by the architects, and accordingly were completely removed, as shown in the plan, and a foundation of a deeper and better construction substituted for them, which runs completely from one end to the other of the presbytery, on either side. The curved portions of the Norman walls are not sunk completely down to the rock, and are built in a trench, the bottom of which is four feet six inches below the surface level, on which the Early English plinths of the piers stand. This is the most convenient datum line: for example, at *C D*, large rough boulder stones are laid upon the bottom, forming a broad footing, projecting one foot nine inches beyond the surface line of the wall, and the whole is built of rough rubble work, set with a loose, coarse, sandy, yellow mortar, which in its present state has very little cohesion, and is wet.

"Some of the stones seemed to have been taken from other buildings, having fragments of harder mortar adhering to them.

"The construction of the Early English foundation, which was carefully examined, by completely trenching along the northern face of the southern wall at *AB*, was entirely different. It was about six feet deep, rested on the rock, was formed of a kind of concrete, and the face exposed slightly overhung its base. The whole had been evidently constructed by making a trench in the ground and packing the concrete into it, which would necessarily produce the appearance of overhanging when the ground was dug away from it. Whereas the Norman wall, as already observed, was

built upwards from the bottom of a wide shallow trench. The southern face of this Early English wall in the side aisle was not accessible, because the pavement was wholly occupied by large monumental slabs. The corresponding wall at *EF*, on the opposite side of the presbytery, was almost entirely destroyed by a vault which had been excavated in this foundation, under Bishop Redman's monument, for the reception of some unknown person, apparently, in the seventeenth century. The extent of this rashly constructed and injurious chamber is marked in the plan *G, H, K*.

"But a most curious and interesting peculiarity of the foundations remains to be described.

"The outer corners of the semicircular apse and the middle of its internal curvature were filled up by portions of foundation work, as shown in the plan at *L, M, N*, so as to convert the whole into the foundation of a straight wall of the same thickness as the circular wall.

"These outside portions were certainly constructed before the Early English foundation. A very careful examination of the junction of the two walls at the northern angle *P*, showed that these portions had been cut through to allow of the passage of the Early English work, and that they had not been subsequently applied against its face. The first and most natural conjecture was, that these triangular pieces had been put in to form a foundation for some transverse steps or works required for the decoration of the presbytery. But this, for other reasons, was very improbable, even if the nature of these foundations had not shown that they were subsequent additions to the Norman work and previous to the Early English.

"These portions were built with more care than the Norman already described, and with a somewhat

deeper foundation; their faces also when exposed appeared nearly vertical.

"A sub-wall of the same thickness as that just described, namely, eight feet ten inches, crossed the presbytery, connecting the great Norman piers from *F* to *B*, as shown in the plan; the centre of the wall coinciding, as nearly as possible, with the centre of the existing prominent Norman shafts.

"In Essex's plan the original church is laid down as having an eastern apse surrounded by a semicircular aisle, as at Norwich and Gloucester, but without chapels. For the purpose of verifying the existence of this aisle and laying it down with precision, search was made in the side aisles at the places indicated in the plan at *Q*, *R*, *S* and *T* (the only ones practicable), and the ground in the presbytery to the east of the apse was carefully sounded.

"No foundations, however, of such an external aisle wall could be discovered. The whole of the central space, with the exception of a few vaults, proved to be soft ground.

"In the south side aisle at *Q*, instead of a curved wall, a transverse wall, five feet eight inches in thickness, appeared, as shown in the plan, nearly opposite to one of the Early English piers. The mortar and construction of this was similar to the added portions of foundation *L*, *M*, *N*, and its want of symmetrical position with the Early English piers also shows that it was not a bond wall connected with them. The ground at *R* was completely soft. In the north side aisle the removal of the pavement disclosed soft ground at *S*, in the track of the supposed side aisle wall, and at *T*, an irregular mass of stones *V*, about one foot below the pavement, that would not have belonged to any foundation, but might have been the remains of a causeway, or a mere undisturbed collection of rubbish. There

was clearly no transverse wall here to correspond with that discovered on the south side at *Q*; but a transverse wall was found in this north aisle at *W*, opposite to, and in continuation of, the Norman bond wall of the great piers.

“This foundation was six feet in thickness, and its eastern face coincided with the eastern face of the central wall, as shown in the plan. It was impossible to ascertain whether a similar wall had existed in the corresponding position in the south aisle, for the whole space there was occupied by gravestones.

“The interpretation of these remains appears on the whole to be that the original plan of the great Norman apse was circular, that it had no aisle round its eastern extremity, and that before it was completed it was resolved to convert it into a square-ended presbytery, such as we now see at Oxford Cathedral and S. Cross. Simeon’s brother, Walkelin, raised his church at Winchester on a crypt; at Ely, the rock was too near the surface, and it was not advisable to have such a substructure in a marsh county. With this exception, the plan adopted by the two brothers was very much the same.

“The presbytery at Winchester was terminated by an apse with a circumscribing aisle. The great bond wall which connects the two existing Norman piers shows that a lofty arch was erected there, probably carrying an eastern gable, from which the circular apse would have projected, and in a similar manner the square-ended presbytery which served as the Feretory of Etheldreda and her three relations did actually project. The change of form was probably made because this square form better suited the quadruple group of shrines than the semicircular plan would have done. The great arch must have been flanked and buttressed by walls crossing the aisles, and hence the foundation *W* discovered in the north aisle, to which

must have corresponded a similar one in the south aisle. Peterborough, Hereford, Norwich, and many other churches exhibit this construction. These side aisle walls are sometimes pierced with arches which give access to lateral apses, or to eastern aisles when they exist. In the present case no apse was traceable in the north side, and on the south the transverse wall to the east of the one under discussion seems to show that a chapel stood there in continuation of the south aisle. This was probably the Lady Chapel, still kept on the south side of the church.

Willis's *Mitred
Abbeys*, i. 266.

"There can be little doubt that Simeon merely erected the domestic offices, but did little else than lay the foundations of the church, and that the round apse which he began was so little raised above the ground, if at all, that his successor Richard had no difficulty in sacrificing it and changing the plan to a square.

"The total discrepancy between these results and the plan given by Essex shows that the latter was drawn from memory and conjecture only."

If any part of the present church can be attributed to Abbot Simeon, it is the rude specimen of Norman masonry which forms the basement story of the eastern transept, for this part of the church was probably begun first, and pushed on more rapidly than other portions of the fabric.

The main purpose which the original founders of our cathedrals had first of all in view was the completion of the choir, in which the monks could perform their daily services, and when due provision had been made for this primary object, it was their practice to complete the general plan more leisurely by adding on, eastward and westward, magnificent presbyteries and lengthy naves, just as individual liberality, or the general prosperity of each monastic body, justified the commencement of such expensive undertakings.

There are no grounds for assuming that this was not the case at Ely.

When the general plan of the whole church had been once settled, the masons no doubt set to work with this transept and so much of the adjoining presbytery and nave as was absolutely necessary to carry the central campanile which was to rise over the choir.

The heavy pier arches which distinguish this part of the cathedral are constructed of two orders of rough square-edged voussoirs, and they are carried by equally plain piers, which are not repeated in other parts of the building.

All the masonry of this lower story is remarkable for the same characteristic rudeness which is so prominent in the corresponding portion of the church built by the Abbot's brother, Bishop Walkelin, at Winchester; and if Simeon's original plan had not been subsequently interfered with, the resemblance between the designs adopted by the two brothers would have been extremely striking.

In its present state the Ely east transept has only eastern and western ailes, but these are in reality the remains of a continuous aile of equal width, which once went all round it, precisely like the similar aile, which still remains as it was built, at Winchester.

The change of plan was effected at Ely by merely taking down all that part of the aile which occupied the north and south ends of the transept, and was, of course, the connecting link between the portions which have been left undisturbed.

The marks of the junction of this missing member with these ailes which remain were at one time very distinct, but more particularly in the south than in the north arm, which was partially rebuilt in the seventeenth century. The evidences of the original arrangement had been preserved for centuries under coats of

plaster and whitewash, and have been obliterated only in very recent times by the masons employed to clean the church.

The north and south central respond piers of the aisle vault which was destroyed, were not taken down, because they formed part of the main walls of the church, and they accordingly remain just as they were built, but partly hidden behind the piers of the two narrow galleries which replaced, at some time or other, the broad ailes of Abbot Simeon.

Plate 3.

The piers of the tower under which the choir was arranged were no doubt begun with the transept, of which they formed an important element, but it is known that they were cleared away in the fourteenth century by Alan de Walsingham after the campanile, which they could not support, had fallen to pieces.

If we assume this part of the basement to be all that remains of Simeon's work, the next question is whether the rest of the Norman masonry of the transept and the entire nave were erected by the next Abbot, Richard, whose claim to be regarded as one of the builders of the cathedral rests on the statement in the *Liber Eliensis*, which has been already given at full length.

A very slight examination of the triforium and clerestory of the east transept is sufficient to show that they are not coeval with the work which carries them, for the plain square-edged voussoirs which give so much character to the pier arches are not used in the upper storeys of the building. The arch mold of the triforium inside wall, retains, it is true, the rude square pattern on its rear face, but the front is decorated with the common Norman edge molding, and even if the general disposition of parts in the whole elevation is that laid down by the original projector of the building, it is quite clear that the design has been worked out by masons who had learnt to deal with their materials

much more freely than those who had been employed at the outset.

But as the probable history of these peculiarities can be more readily suggested in connection with changes which are to be traced in the nave, it will be convenient to confine our attention at present to those alterations in the transept which belong to much later periods than the twelfth century.

The eastern aisle of this member of the church was at one time occupied with chapels, of which the traces are still in existence. The partition walls of enclosure in the north arm have not been taken down, and those which occupied similar positions in the south arm were not removed till the year 1814, when the chapter library was enlarged, and the chapels destroyed to make room for bookcases.

“In each of them, on the south side, near the place where the high altar stood, there was a piscina, or place for washing the holy vessels, and a niche for the image on the north side, the usual situation of each; but now concealed by the bookcases.

Millers, Ely
Cathedral, 3rd
Edition, p. 61.

“In one of them there is also, on the north side, now covered by the bookcases, a low Norman arch in the same place in which the sepulcrum Domini is sometimes found near the high altar. Whether this be one might be known perhaps if we knew the dedication of this chapel.

“These chapels, till 1814, were parted from the body of the transept by wooden screens of workmanship inferior to the other ancient carving in wood now existing in the church.”

The division walls and screens were laid down by Browne Willis in his plan of the cathedral, and their position is shown in the general plan given at the end of this volume. The library originally occupied the southern of the three chapels, and the two others were

Plate 3.

used as vestries. The Early English and other windows which now occupy the east well of these chapels are all insertions in the original Norman structure, of which the history is unknown.

The west aisle of the south arm of the transept, which is now occupied by a muniment room and vestry, is shut off from the church by a blank arcade, which, although of great age, is probably not part of the original construction. A similar arrangement is to be found in Peterborough Cathedral.

In the plan given by Browne Willis, the present muniment room is called "The Archive Room and Chapter House," and it was entered by a door which stood in the east wall.

The north-west angle of the north arm of the transept fell suddenly on the 29th of March, 1699, and caused great consternation in Ely. It is said that the church had been shaken by an earthquake some years before, and the walls damaged to an extent which was not suspected at the time.

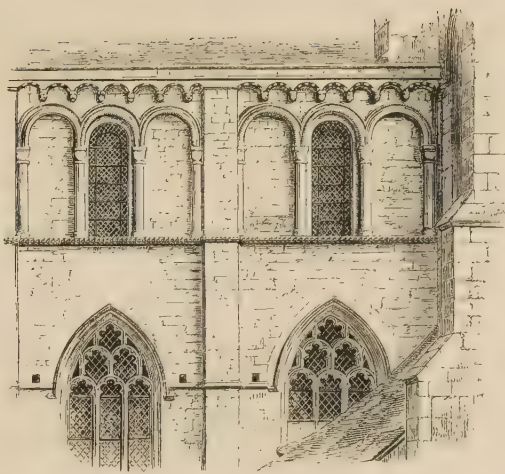
It was necessary to rebuild about half the north and west wall, and the work was superintended by the master mason of S. Paul's Cathedral, in London, which Sir Christopher Wren was then erecting.

The east wall of this part of the church has been meddled with less than usual, and still shows how the original Norman triforium and clerestory were finished. The rude parapet of the triforium wall has never been changed, and one of the buttresses of the Lady Chapel partly rests upon it (*vide* p. 77).

The windows of the pier arch, or ground story, have been entirely altered; but, with this exception, the transept wall which crosses the narrow space between the Lady Chapel and the Early English presbytery is the most complete specimen of the old church which is left.



NORTH-EAST TRANSEPT. CLERESTORY EAST WALL.
Junction of Lady Chapel with Norman Triforium.



EAST TRANSEPT.

Junction of Lady Chapel with Norman Triforium.

The north and south, or two end walls, have been raised considerably, to admit of the insertion of some large windows, which are not remarkable for any beauty of design. The date of this change is unknown. The roof was probably constructed in the fifteenth century, but no allusion to it has been found in any of the fabric rolls or other local documents which have survived the ravages of time and damp.

This is all that is known of the architectural history of the east transept, and it is scanty enough to afford ample scope for various conjectures; but the history of the nave and western cross aisle is equally defective, and if possible more obscure.

Whatever the extent of Simeon's work may have been, the church was evidently in no sense complete at his death, and a long period is known to have elapsed before his successor was able to set to work with it.

Seven years passed away before Abbot Richard was even appointed; but as soon as it was known upon whom the royal choice had fallen, he was involved in the dispute with the Bishop of Lincoln, which has been alluded to some pages back. This discussion had hardly subsided when his patron, the King, commanded his services in a general council which was summoned in the autumn of the year 1103, and this council gave rise to his deposition, and involved him in a tedious journey to Rome in order to make good his claim to the Abbacy. There are no special reasons for supposing that the work which Simeon had begun ceased suddenly on his death.

It was only after Richard's return to Ely, and to the peaceful enjoyment of his preferment, that he is said to have devoted himself to the completion of Simeon's church, and it is on the whole improbable that, during the previous period of ten or twelve years, the seventy monks residing at Ely should have disregarded entirely

L. E. ii. 143.

the construction of their new cathedral, merely because they were practically without an Abbot.

They most likely did what they could with revenues diminished by royal confiscation, and carried on the new fabric till Richard was ready to take on himself a responsibility which they were no doubt quite ready to make over to him. And this conjecture is in a great measure borne out by slight changes or peculiarities which may be traced in the masonry of the church.

The nave is a good specimen of light Norman work, rather more enriched than that part of the east transept which may be assigned to Simeon, where the piers are perfectly plain cylinders, and the pier arches which they carry are entirely free from any attempt at decoration.

It has two kinds of piers, and two forms of pier arches ; but the differences in the arch molds are quite independent of any variation in the plan of the piers.

The changes which the builders introduced in the nave piers are not very prominent ; but the cylindrical piers which they used on the north side are plainer than those adopted on the south.

The pier arches throughout the nave are constructed of three orders of voussoirs ; but in the four severies, or compartments, which join the east transept, the middle order is square-edged, and thus different from, and plainer than, the two others with which it is united. With these four exceptions, all the voussoirs of these nave pier arches have their edges decorated with an ordinary Norman molding.

These architectural features, which distinguish the nave from the east transept, are confined, with scarcely an exception, to the pier arch story alone.

The triforium of the nave and east transept is a complete upper story or gallery carried over the side aisle vaults, as at Norwich and Peterborough, and its inside

wall consists of an arcade in which each severy is formed of one arch subdivided into two smaller ones.

Thus far the Ely transept resembles in all general features that which Simeon's brother built at Winchester; but the resemblance is only of that general character which might be expected in two buildings erected at nearly the same time.

In the church at Winchester, which was begun in the year 1079, and fit for use in the year 1093, seven years before Richard became Abbot of Ely, in fact in the year in which Simeon died, the builders used for all the arch molds of their work the rude squared stones which appear at Ely only in the pier arches of the east transept.

In the Ely triforium all the arch stones of the inside wall are so worked as to show on the front face the common round edge molding or "bowtell," which is the universal feature in the masonry of the early part of the twelfth century.

But this rule does not hold good with respect to the inner face of this wall, which is seen only from the floor of the triforium gallery.

In the transept, the rear face of the voussoirs, or arch stones, of the arcade is perfectly plain.

In the nave, on the other hand, there are two patterns of arch mold in the triforium, just as there are two varieties of pier arches.

In the three eastern severies of the triforium, all the arch stones of the arcade which forms the inside wall are merely squared on their inner or rear face; but the nine remaining severies, which complete the nave series, have, in all cases, one order of voussoirs ornamented with a round edge molding on both faces.

The three severies in which the back face of the arch stones is quite plain, of course stand above the four severies of the pier arches, in which the middle order of

voussoirs is without an edge molding. The triforium wall is one compartment shorter than the work below it, because the plainer portion of the nave was built before the rest, as an abutment for the central tower, and would obviously be diminished in extent as it grew in height.

The east end of the nave is certainly plainer than any other part of it, although not to any remarkable extent; and the fact that it is so is explained at once by the conjecture that the monks built some part of the church during the years in which they were left to themselves, between the date of Simeon's death and the beginning of Richard's official life at Ely. 'There can be very little doubt that Simeon commenced the tower piers, and at any rate laid the foundation of the four nave piers next in order, and it is quite possible that the monks only provided for the safety of the unfinished structure by continuing the work which was interrupted by the Abbot's death.

The clerestory gallery is built of the same pattern throughout the nave and east transept.

If this view of the growth of the Norman church is adopted, Richard must still have had a large share in raising it. He introduced changes in the completion of the presbytery which have been already noticed. He built the whole of the east transept clerestory, and the greater part of the entire nave must be attributed to him; but that, even in his time, the building was carried on slowly, may be assumed from the masonry of the nave, which certainly shows signs of having been advanced by easy stages. This is quite consistent with the little that is known of the mode in which the masons really did carry on the work in which they were engaged.

Four years before the translation of the remains of the Abbesses, which took place under Richard's direc-

tion, some of the bodies were removed from the places they had hitherto occupied to another part of the church, because the walls of the new presbytery encroached on the site hitherto occupied by their shrines.

“Annis vero quatuor ante translationem sanctarum virginum celebrem de loco suo dimoverant beatæ Withburgæ virginis sepulturam, et alibi in ecclesia collocaverant. Structura vero templi prodiens ulterius id necessario cogebat. . . . Ermenildam similiter amoverunt, materia procedentis ecclesiæ ad insigne negotium invitante.” L. E. ii. 146.

This circumstance proves that the present church occupies the site of an older one, which was taken down to make way for the walls of the new one, and it shows also how gradually the old arrangements were superseded by new ones. At the time these changes were being made, Abbot Richard had not established his legal right to the preferment which he claimed as nominee of the Crown, and it is quite possible that even then the monks were the chief builders of the new church.

The campanile, which rose over the choir at the junction of the nave and transept, was very likely finished entirely by Richard, so that the new church might be got ready to receive the relics of the foundress and her relatives with as little delay as possible.

It has been already stated that the first translation of Etheldreda is supposed to have taken place A.D. 695, but the date of the event is not very distinctly stated in the Ely records. The fact is not perhaps an important one, as it does not in any way affect the details of the translation. Her body was taken from the graveyard, it is said, and placed in the church which she had built, and within a few years the bodies of her two sisters and niece were arranged near her shrine, and all, most probably, behind the high altar.

The relative positions occupied by the shrines are not very clearly defined, but the bodies of Eormenilda and Wihthberga were at first preserved in plain wooden chests, or coffins.

L. E. ii. 148.

On the 17th of October, 1106, these original arrangements were entirely changed; the wooden coffins were superseded by stone shrines, and all four bodies were so placed behind the high altar, that Etheldreda's might become the most prominent attraction in the new presbytery.

According to this scheme, her shrine stood behind the high altar, as in the accompanying diagram. The body of her sister, Sexburga, was laid at her feet, further to the east, Wihthburga's remains were on the north side, and Eormenilda's on the south.



L. E. ii. 150.
16 June, A.D.
1107.

The second translation was conducted with great pomp, and must have been almost the last public act in which Abbot Richard appeared, for he died on the 16th of June following, and was immediately buried in the church he had helped to raise.

L. E. iii. 28.
Ang. Sac.
i. 617.

Four years afterwards the building was struck by lightning, and some wooden roof, or spire, which covered the entrance, was set on fire, and only saved from entire destruction by miraculous agency:—"Turris

sancti Petri quæ est in porta Helyensis ecclesiæ sita, a summo cacumine nocte igne fulguris est accensa; sed Dei misericordia subveniente et sanctorum meritis suffragantibus mirabiliter ab igne est erepta." The men who subdued the threatening flames are said to have been neither injured by the molten lead which fell on them, nor dismayed by the red hot iron and burning timber, which they fearlessly handled.

This passage contains the only evidence of the completion of the Norman church by its original builders, and it is hardly necessary to say that very little can be made out of it, for it gives no clue whatever to the plan of the original western termination of the building.

The outer wall of the triforium of the nave has been so much altered that it can be hardly recognized as part of the Norman church.

The original arrangement is preserved in the corresponding wall of the east transept, but in the ninth year of the reign of Edward IV., this part of the nave was raised, and converted into its present form. The side aisle windows below were no doubt inserted at the same time. The Sacrist's rolls for this period have perished, but the date of the alteration is known by means of a roll of Roger de Westminster, Senescallus, in which there is the following entry:—"Custus novi operis. Solut' ad fabricam unius nov' yll' super corpus ecclesie versus claustrum de parte cujusdam summe pro convocatione generali capituli ad idem concessæ, cvjs. viij*l*."

This statement applies to the south side of the nave only, and of course determines nothing with respect to the outer north wall, but there is very little doubt that the change was made on both sides of the nave at the same time.

The battlement, which finishes the south side aisle wall, was added some twenty years later.

"Custus ecclesie. In stipendio Thome Peyntour

Plate 10.

9 Ed. IV.

{ 4 Mar. 1469. }

{ 3 Mar. 1470. }

Sacrist's roll,
3 Hen. VII.
{ 22 Aug. 1487. }
{ 21 Aug. 1488. }

lathami per annum cum xviijs. exhibicione apprenticii
sui hoc anno operantis super le battelment ex parte
australi ecclesie, viij/. iijs. viijd. In stipendio
diversorum laborar' conductorum ad serviendum la-
thamis de Petra et cimento pro le batelment predict,
. . . iijs. xd. Soluti uno carpentario pro factura
unius crane ad idem opus per iij. dies cum serviente
suo, ijs."

A description of
the Cathedral
Church of Ely,
by G. Millers,
3rd Ed. 1834,
p. 102.

"Formerly," Mr. Millers informs us, "battlements
ran the whole length of the nave on each side; those
on the north were removed within the last sixty years,"
that is to say, about ninety years from the present
time.

Sacrist's roll,
13 Rich. II.
{ 22 June, 1389. }
{ 21 June, 1390. }

The wall arcade which runs along the north aisle
of the nave internally, is interrupted about half-way
down, at the seventh compartment from the eastern
transept. This break marks the site of the entrance
from the nave into the parish church of S. Cross, or the
Holy Trinity, which was built in the reign of Edward
III., while the greater work of the lantern was in hand.

The church stood on the north side of the nave, and
was connected with it by means of a covered way, of
which every stone has been removed.

Monasticon
Anglicanum
per Rog. Dods-
worth, Guil.
Dugdale, Lon-
don, MDLV.

In one edition of the Monasticon, there is an engrav-
ing of the cathedral, in which the ruined walls of this
passage are represented projecting from the aisle. The
plate must have been engraved soon after the death of
Bishop Goodrich, in 1554, by which time the church
seems to have been destroyed.

A. D. 1556.

Early in the reign of Elizabeth, the Lady Chapel was
given to the parish in place of the church of S. Cross,
and if any remains of its connection with the cathedral
were then left, they were probably carried away in
1662, when the wall of the north aisle was repaired.

Browne Willis,
Survey, vol. ii.
334.

The roof, which now covers the nave, is a remarkable
example of a trussed rafter roof of seven cants, which

is sometimes described as a compass roof. It is just such a roof as might have replaced the original one in the thirteenth century, and there is reason to think it is one of the many additions to the fabric which were made by Bishop Hugh de Northwold.

Till very lately it was left open to the leads, as described by Browne Willis, in his *Survey of Cathedrals*.

The Norman stone screen, which formed the western enclosure of the original choir, was standing as late as the year 1757, when Mr. Essex was employed to carry out the repairs of which the whole church was in need.

It stood between two of the nave piers, but was so completely destroyed in 1770, when the stalls were taken from their old position and rearranged in the presbytery, that the only records of its general features are a rude sketch still existing in the British Museum, and the following description given by Mr. Essex:—"From the western tower the nave of the church extended thirteen arches to the great tower in the middle of the cross, but the middle walk extended no further than five, at which place was erected a stone screen with a rood loft over it. The front of it was a solid wall, pierced with three doors, and decorated with small pillars and feint arches, behind which was a low arcade, which supported the rood loft, the walls or battlements of which are composed of open work of little pillars and circles. The way up to this gallery was by a stone staircase on the north side, still remaining."*

The general arrangement of this screen is easily understood from the plan of it, which was first printed by Browne Willis, and then repeated by Mr. Bentham.

History and
Antiquities of
the Cathedral
Church of Ely,
by James Ben-
tham. 2nd
Ed., with
Supplement.
Addenda, p. 3.

Supplement
p. 73.

* Between the choir and the nave is an ancient stone gallery, from pillar to pillar, cross the middle aisle; on which, towards the east, is placed the organ, and on the west part are seats for the

Bishop, Dean, Prebendaries, and other members of the church to hear the sermons.—Dr. Tanner's *Letter to Browne Willis*, vol. i. p. 267.

The choir entrance was under a stone gallery, which occupied the space between the two adjoining pairs of piers, marked 5 and 6, in the plan engraved in Plate 3.

Plate 3.

The separation between the nave and east end of the church, was continued across the south aisle by a wall, or screen of some kind, which was also standing when this plan of the central one was made.

Many of the windows which remained till lately in the clerestory of the nave and transepts, were curious specimens of the rude construction which gives so much character to old buildings. They were of such great age that they may have been the remains of work done so far back as the thirteenth century.

As there were no glass grooves in the window jambs, sheets of lozenge-shaped glasses, or quarries, united by lead lines, were fixed into wooden frames, and wedged into the window openings. In a Sacrist's roll for the twenty-first year of the reign of Edward I., we have the history of sixteen windows, which were then inserted in the upper alures or galleries of the church.

21 Ed. I.
 { 20 Nov. 1292. }
 { 20 Nov. 1293. }

“Pro sexdecim fenestris factis de novo in superioribus alluris ecclesie, xij*l.* xvjs. Pro cuilibet fenestra, xvjs.

“Pro cassis ligneis ad easdem, xvij*js.* viij*d.* Pro curbis et meremio, xiijs. Pro mille clavorum, x*d.* Pro ferramento, xxxijs.”

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE WESTERN ARM OF THE CATHEDRAL.

FOR upwards of sixty years after the death of Abbot Richard the architectural history of the church is a complete blank, and very little is known of the erection of the western cross aile and tower, which, even in their half-ruined condition, are such remarkable features in the cathedral. The record of their partial completion by Geoffrey Ridel, the third Bishop of Ely, in the latter part of the twelfth century, is the first notice of their existence which is found in the chronicles of the abbey. They must, therefore, have been built during the eighty years which elapsed between the years 1107 and 1189, when Bishop Ridel died.

The extension or changes in the plan of the church which were made during this period, must have had their beginning in the interest which the monks took in the enlargement and enrichment of the building, for the Abbots who were Richard's immediate successors seem to have made no efforts even to keep in repair the structure which he left to their charge.

As soon as Abbot Richard was dead, the King sent Hervey, then Bishop of Bangor, to act at Ely as administrator of the temporal and spiritual interests of the abbacy until another Abbot was chosen; but in the tenth year of the reign of Henry I., the office of Abbot

was suppressed and merged in a bishopric, which Hervey managed to keep in his own hands.

His first act, after securing this preferment, was to claim and appropriate to himself, as Bishop, all the prerogatives and privileges which had been hitherto vested in the Abbots, and in doing so he carefully relieved the see from all those expensive responsibilities which had till then been borne by the Abbots. He declined, both for himself and his successors, all liability to maintain the fabric, and threw the whole charge on the monks; but he professed to lighten this burden by obtaining from the King special charters, which exempted the priory from all customary tolls which, in ordinary circumstances, would have been paid for the conveyance to Ely of timber, stone, lead, or iron necessary for the repair or construction of the church.

Hervey's death took place on the 30th of August, 1131, and after a delay of two years, during which the revenues of the see were, as usual, perverted to the Royal Treasury, he was succeeded by Nigel, the Treasurer of Henry I.

The writer, or rather compiler, of the "*Liber Eliensis*," the document which is the chief source of all that is known of the foundation of the abbey, was living at this time, and devoted the third book of his chronicle almost entirely to the events which took place during the six-and-thirty years over which Nigel's bishopric extended; but in all that he has written there is not even an allusion to any offer on the Bishop's part to add to the church, or to assist those who were engaged in its extension.

Nigel neither helped nor encouraged the monks; but he emptied their treasury to gratify his private wants, and stripped off the silver from the shrine of Etheldreda, in order to pay the debts which were the fruits of his extravagance.

It is almost certain, therefore, that no part of the cathedral was erected at the sole charge, or even with the assistance, of either of the two Bishops who in succession occupied the position which Abbot Richard had filled. Whatever was done during that long period must have been undertaken by the monks alone, and the unfinished state in which Nigel's successor found the west end of the church was very likely one of the results which followed Nigel's appropriation of the revenues of the priory.

When their treasury was empty, the monks could ill afford to carry on rapidly the construction of an extensive work designed in the most expensive style of building which had, at that time, ever been attempted.

Nigel's death took place May 30, 1169, and, after a vacancy of four years, Geoffrey Ridel, a royal chaplain, and one of the barons of the Exchequer, succeeded to the see.

He finished, to some extent, the new work at the west end of the church, and thus relieved the monks from an expenditure which, very likely, was a continual drain upon their resources:—"Novum opus versus occidentem, cum turre usque ad cumulum perfecit:" or, as some copies have it, "fere perfecit."

Brit. Mus.
Harl. MSS.
258, 3721.

Although this statement is remarkably brief, there is not much difficulty in pointing out those portions of the present cathedral which must certainly have owed their existence to Ridel's munificence; for the building itself supplies that precise information in which the chronicle is deficient.

As we know that Ridel held his preferment till the year 1189, the year which saw the accession of Richard I., it will be remembered that he was living at one of those periods when architectural taste was undergoing a considerable change, and one which could

21 Aug. 1189.

hardly fail to influence any work carried on under his direction.

In the course of the twelfth century, and therefore while Ridel was Bishop of Ely, the pointed arch came into general use in Europe, and brought with it lighter, bolder, and more carefully finished details than custom had previously sanctioned.

Glossary of
Architecture.
Oxford, 1850,
p. 38.

Whatever buildings were then erected would naturally be characterized by all the leading features of that great change which was gradually stealing in, and superseding the clumsy grandeur which satisfied the church builders of the eleventh century.

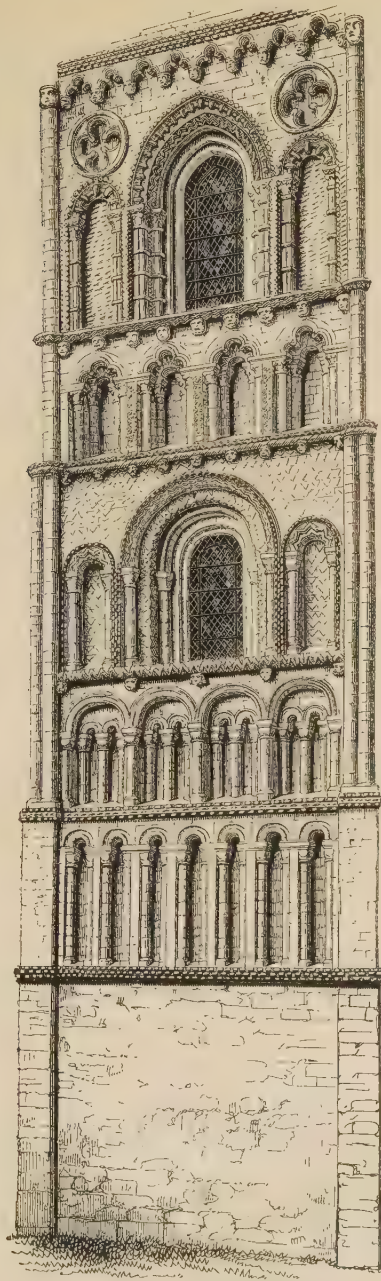
The drawing of one bay of the west transept, given in Plate 11, shows the elaborate character of the design adopted for the west front of the church, and the variations introduced by Ridel.

Starting with a plain wall for the basement, each successive division of the structure is decorated by bands of arcades of various magnitudes, and the whole surface is profusely enriched with bold diaper patterns ; but in the top story the pointed arch supersedes the round one, and two orders of the window arch mold are carried by banded, clustered shafts, which represent the transitional style of masonry which so rapidly encroached on the rude Norman workmanship.

The windows themselves belong to a lofty gallery which finishes the transept, and is easily distinguished from the lower portion of the structure by the lightness of the arcade which forms its inner wall.

Lancet arches of different size spring from slender compound piers, and the arch stones are worked with a keeled molding, which is one of the peculiarities of the style which Ridel helped to introduce.

Pointed arches bearing the same mold are used for the windows of the adjoining campanile, and the same details are employed for the decoration of the span-



WEST TRANSEPT. WEST WALL.

drel panels of the tower which are seen from the nave.

The pier arches, also, which originally carried the great western campanile, are pointed in form, although worked with zig-zags and moldings essentially Norman; but the massive arches employed in the basement of the transept are circular.

Sections of these specimens of Ridel's stonework are engraved in Plate 5.

The nave of the neighbouring cathedral of Peterborough was finished at the west like that of Ely, with a cross aisle in which pointed arches are treated with Norman moldings; but the date of its erection has not been discovered.

If the north wing of the Ely front ever was built to correspond in all points with the part which remains, the entrance to the nave must have been very striking; but the completion of the western cross aisle, according to the original design, is a point about which great uncertainty exists. That the north arm was begun is probable for many reasons; that it was finished by those who commenced it is very doubtful.

The tower which Bishop Ridel completed must have had, originally, on all its four sides, abutments of more than usual solidity, on account of the great height to which its pier arches rose, and the immense weight of the mass they had to carry. Two of these abutments remain, and two have disappeared. The eastern and the southern one are standing almost as their builders left them; the western and the northern one are entirely gone. The marks of roofs which are so plain on the two bare sides of the tower prove that supports were once provided for these two faces of the campanile, but do not, of course, show how far these missing members extended westward or northward.

There are, no doubt, fragments of Norman arcades yet clinging to the north face of the tower, which look like the remains of the walls of a chamber, corresponding to that which stands on the south side; but if the north arm of this transept was so begun, it does not follow that it was ever finished according to the original design. It was not unusual for one generation of workmen to begin what another generation completed. If the funds which the monks had in their treasury ran short, it is probable that they built just so much of the north wing of the west front as was absolutely necessary for the safety of the tower, and trusted that some wealthy benefactor would do the rest.

Bishop Ridel certainly found their work unfinished; but even he, if we follow one version of the Ely chronicle, did not live long enough to complete it, and the task was left to one of his successors.

This conjecture is only the revival of an old hypothesis, that the northern portion of the west cross aisle was finished by Bishop Eustace, who died at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

On the death of Bishop Ridel the see was bestowed on William Longchamp, who spent none of his money on the fabric, but his successor, Eustathius, or Eustace, is known to have made large additions to it.

He was elected on the 10th August, 1197, in the eighth year of the reign of Richard I.; consecrated on the 8th March, 1198, in S. Catherine's Chapel, at Westminster, and he held the see of Ely till the 3rd of February, 1215, in the sixteenth year of King John's reign. During these eighteen years he built at his own expense a new galilee at the west end of the church:—"Ipse construxit a fundamento novam galileam ecclesiæ Eliensis versus occidentem sumptibus suis."

Two interpretations of this sentence have been sug-

8 Rich. I.
{ 3 Sept. 1196.
 2 Sept. 1197. }

16 John,
{ 28 May, 1214.
 27 May, 1215. }

Brit. Mus.
Harl. 258. Ang.
Sac. i. 634.

gested, and two sites have been claimed for the work which was done at the Bishop's cost.

The older theory is that the entire west transept was the galilee of the church, and that Eustace built or completed the north end of it, which was still unfinished when he was moved to Ely. His share of the cross aisle was called the new galilee, to distinguish it from the opposite southern arm, which was the old galilee begun by the monks as a continuation of their Norman church, and finished by their Bishop, Ridel.

This interpretation of the words of the chronicle appears to be due to Dr. Tanner, a canon of the church, who wrote the account of Ely Cathedral, which was printed in the year 1718, in the "History of the Mitred Parliamentary Abbies," by Browne Willis.

"From this tower southward," he says, "there now extends a large building as high as the top of the church, and the like seems to have reached as far northward, though part is now down. This I take to be the galilee mentioned to be built by Bishop Eustathius, as may be seen in *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 634."

In the "Survey of Cathedrals," published by the same author, in 1727, the term galilee is applied to the whole western cross aisle of the Ely Church. In the plan of the cathedral, the southern portion is lettered as the "South galilee, now the church workhouse," and a corresponding area on the north side of the tower is called "Ruined part of galilee."

In Stevens's "Monasticon," which appeared in 1722, Dr. Tanner's remarks are copied verbatim.

These statements evidently represent the popular local belief which was prevalent 150 years ago, and they are quite consistent with all the information which documentary history supplies. The Ely galilee on this theory was a large room at the west end of the church, the counterpart, in point of position, of the Durham galilee.

History of
Mitred Abbies,
by Browne Wil-
lis, i. 268.

The History of
the Antient
Abbeys, &c., by
John Stevens,
Gent.
London,
MDCCLXXII.

The later theory is, that the present west porch is the galilee which Eustace built, and Mr. Bentham, Mr. Essex, and Mr. Millers have, in turn, sanctioned an opinion, which our present knowledge of the development of English architecture does not support.

P. 145.

Mr. Bentham, in his "History of the Cathedral," has quoted an entry in one of the registers of Bishop Eustace, which shows that he rebuilt and reconsecrated, during his episcopate, the parochial church of S. Mary, which stands a little to the west of the Cathedral. The precise year in which this took place, is not known, but the fact is not at all material to the present inquiry.

If the Bishop was, as there is no reason to doubt, the builder of the parish church, and the modern theory respecting the galilee is admitted, it follows, of course, that there are in Ely two examples of the architectural taste of Eustace, which must certainly be expected to possess some general points of resemblance, and also to harmonize with the peculiarities of style, which distinguish the masonry of that particular period.

It has been already remarked, that Ridel's additions to the west transept show the beginning of that pointed architecture which superseded the Norman style towards the end of the twelfth century. Eustace became Bishop of Ely, just as the new fashion, which Mr. Millers appropriately named the Early English style, was fairly established; but died before it was fully developed. S. Mary's Church accordingly contains examples of plain lancet windows and rough masonry, which represent, in all respects, the simple forms which masons adopted in ecclesiastical buildings which are known to have been erected in the Bishop's lifetime; but it is out of the question, that the delicate workmanship of the cathedral porch is to be attributed to the same period, and same agency. If the present porch of the cathedral could be shown to be the work

of a Bishop who died at the very opening of the thirteenth century, it would contradict many of the conclusions respecting the history of styles in English architecture, which have been adopted after careful and extensive research.

But even if S. Mary's Church did not exist, a similar difficulty would be raised by a comparison between the supposed work of Eustace, and the presbytery of Hugh de Northwold, at the other end of the cathedral, which was begun nineteen years after Eustace was in his grave.

Both show the distinct features of an established style; but the one which is, according to modern theory, the earlier in point of date, possesses all those peculiarities which belong to a later specimen.

The design of the porch, so far as it has been preserved, is the conception of a more accomplished artist than the architect of the presbytery. It is the work of a more highly educated school of masons, who selected and used their materials with a spirit and power unknown to the builders of the presbytery.

It is evident that Eustace had nothing to do with the erection of any part of the present cathedral. The galilee which he built has totally disappeared, and the porch, which has gone under that name of late years, must be the work of some unknown benefactor, who had probably seen Hugh de Northwold's presbytery, and determined to lengthen the church westward as it had been extended in the opposite direction.

The building known to the monks as the galilee, is scarcely ever mentioned in their records. It was standing in the forty-second year of the reign of Edward III., when nets were bought by the Sacrist to keep birds out of it, but no entries have been found which explain or allude to its destruction. It is very probable, that the walls of the north end fell in and became a ruin, but this

42 Ed. III.

{ 25 Jan. 1368. }

{ 24 Jan. 1369. }

is only a conjecture, which has been suggested by the alarming settlements which have been observed even in the parts which have held together.

The fenny site chosen for the church made it impossible to build a crypt for the foundation of the proposed superstructure. The walls were, consequently, laid almost on the surface of the ground, and built with so little bond, that some partial failure may have been suddenly fatal to the stability of the whole.

No traces of the foundations of Eustace's work have been ever discovered; but from the cause just mentioned it is not likely that any exist.

History and
Antiquities of
the Cathedral
Church of Ely,
by James Ben-
tham. 2nd Ed.
Supplement, p.
60.

Whatever may be the real history of the porch through which the cathedral is now entered, there is no doubt that it occupies the site of an earlier one, which acted as the western abutment of the tower.

In 1757, when Mr. Essex examined the building, the ruinous condition of the walls made it easier to trace out structural changes than it is at present, when the evidence of their existence has been obliterated by repairs.

The porch was then in such a state of dilapidation, according to the report laid before the Dean and Chapter, that he advised its removal as an incumbrance, not worth the cost of keeping together:—

Report by Mr.
Essex in posses-
sion of the
Dean and Chap-
ter of Ely.

“Beginning at the west end of the cathedral, the first part presents itself is the porch, the roof of which is in so ruinous a state that it is absolutely necessary to take it down. But as the walls are in a bad condition, occasioned by the wet which has long got to them thro' the gutters, and as this part is neither ornamental nor useful, but must be attended with great expense, if repaired as it ought to be, it will be better to take it quite down than repair it, as it will be of more service to apply the materials to the use of other parts of the church.”

The remains of the older building, which had been incorporated with the new one, were then so distinct as to leave no doubt of the width and height of the first structure. "That this was really the case, appears upon examining the walls themselves, for it is not difficult to see where the new walls are joined to the old, which is a full demonstration that there was such a building as we have supposed, though we cannot say exactly how far it extended westward; but, for the sake of regularity in the plan, we may suppose it was equal in length to the present building called the galilee, as it was equal to it in height and width."

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Antiquities of
the Cathedral
Church of Ely,
by James Ben-
tham. 2nd Ed.
Addenda, p. 2.
Supplement, p.
60.

The advice given by Mr. Essex was only partially followed, and the porch was repaired and preserved. It is fortunate that the Dean and Chapter adopted this course; for although the building has not that special antiquarian value which belongs to a specimen of mediæval art whose history is well known, it has interests of its own, arising from the influence it is supposed to have had on buildings erected in the priory many years afterwards.

There is every reason for thinking that the general scheme of the tabernacle work which is carried round the Decorated Lady Chapel is a reproduction of the disposition of the arcading which makes the porch so effective.

The porch projects forty-three feet in front of the west cross aisle, and is covered in with ribbed vaults springing from compound piers. Below the wall rib of each severy the inner face of the wall is converted into an upper and lower tier of open arches, which form the sides of two galleries constructed in the thickness of the wall, the upper one resting on the vaults of the lower one.

The upper arcade consists of five foiled arches, which are practically the sub-arches of the wall rib,

and have their imposts placed at different levels. The lower one is composed of three trefoil arches, carried by slender Purbeck shafts, which have their bases on a bench table extending the whole length of the porch.

From the shafts or piers of this lower arcade the vaults of the lower gallery also spring, and immediately behind them a continuous podium or high plinth rises from the bench table, and carries the wall shafts of the same vaults. The wall shafts are so set out that they do not range with the shafts of the arcade, but with the spaces between them. The conventional foliage of the capitals is worked in a fine stone of light colour, which was selected to contrast with the Purbeck marble and darker tint of the ashlar work.

The two enriched doorway arches seem to have suffered equally from wanton violence and injudicious repairs; the tracery which the sub-arches carried has been entirely knocked to pieces, and the marble shafts have been replaced by coarse stone ones. The whole of the west front has undergone similar treatment, and it is now difficult to say how it was originally composed.

The roof is a modern one, constructed by Mr. Essex to replace the rotten timbers of the original one; but it does not represent the pitch of the old one, and, of course, lessens the general effect which the building possessed in connection with the west front. The condemned roof rose as high as the floor of the lowest gallery in the tower, and enclosed a room over the porch vault, which was entered from the south by a staircase, which has been cleared away.

Sections of the most prominent members of the porch are printed in Plate 6, along with similar details from the presbytery, so that the dated and undated work may be compared.

A. D. 1802.
Millers, Ely, 3rd
Ed. p. 41.

Bentham's Ely,
plate xliii.

The history of the west tower is almost as obscure and perplexing as that of the porch.

That Bishop Ridel built the greater part of it has been already shown; and this is almost all that is known about it.

Ridel, it may be supposed, roofed it with one of the high pyramidal structures which were in vogue when he was living; but, between the years 1229 and 1254, Bishop Northwold, who seems to have spent money over every part of the cathedral, replaced the original termination by one which suited better his own taste: —“*Ipse construxit de novo turrin ligneam versus galileam ab opere cementario usque ad summitatem.*”

Ang. Sac. i.
636.
Brit. Mus.
Harl. 258.

The tower had evidently settled slightly before the present porch was built against it, but this hint of the instability of its piers does not seem to have caused any apprehension, and the monks did not hesitate to burden its walls with additional weights.

In the year 1345–6 a peal of bells was hung in it, and money was spent by the Sacrist in strengthening the belfry which was to receive them.

The history of this operation is not given at length; but as the outlay was almost entirely confined to the purchase of timber and the wages of carpenters, it is possible that the monks then inserted the wooden ties which may still be seen in one of the upper galleries.

These bells probably did the whole structure more harm than good; yet the passion for building and altering was so strong, that after no great lapse of time the monks disfigured their old tower by loading it with an octagon of stone and four angle towers.

The masonry of this structure is so slight as to suggest that the builders themselves had some misgivings of the prudence of their proceedings; but, whether they had or had not, the scheme was carried out, and has entailed endless expenses upon successive generations.

With the exception of the casing of the legs of the tower, and the inserting of new pier arches, this is the last alteration in the western division of the church which is worth mentioning; but as there is no entry to be found in any of the Ely records which fixes the date at which these changes in the fabric were effected, a considerable diversity of opinion has arisen which is the earlier of the two.

Mr. Bentham had such an extensive acquaintance with all the documents relating to the history of the See of Ely, that it is unwise to dismiss any of his assertions respecting the age of any portion of the cathedral, without giving satisfactory reasons for questioning his accuracy; and this caution is the more necessary, because it is believed that he had access to a copy of the lives of the Bishops, which is said to be no longer in existence.

In his history he has, however, made statements relating to the date of the erection of the west octagon which require to be noticed. They are contained in the following extracts:—

Henry VI.
1 Sept. 1422 to
4 Mar. 1461.

“This spire was taken down in the reign of Henry the Sixth, when the tower was raised with stone-work about 64 feet higher into the present form.” (P. 148.)

3 Rich. II.
{ 22 June 1379.
 21 June 1380. }

“The octangular building, with the four turrets, were added about 1380, but some time after, this tower being apprehended in a dangerous way of spreading asunder (probably by the additional weight on it), it was found necessary to brace it together by a curious and judicious frame of timber, cramped with iron, and keyed into the stone-work, and likewise to enlarge and case the pillars underneath, which latter work I find was begun A. D. 1406.” (P. 286.)

Henry IV.
30 Sept. 1399 to
20 Mar. 1413.

“When the present octangular tower was built is not certain. The style of the work seems to place it in Henry the Sixth’s time.” (Addenda, p. 3.)

As these assertions are not supported by references to any documents which would be accepted as conclusive evidence, and as they are somewhat contradictory, the probability is that they simply amount to opinions hastily given, which would not stand the test of patient inquiry, and were practically withdrawn when the addenda to the history were made public.

It is certain that no fabric rolls have been found hitherto in which this "octangular tower" is noticed, and there is literally nothing known of its history.

With respect to the other change made in the west tower, or great campanile, as it is usually termed, viz., the casing of the piers and insertion of new pier arches, the dearth of information is not so great; and objections may be raised to the decision arrived at by Mr. Bentham and by Mr. Millers, that the work was begun in 1405-6.

Mr. Millers confidently remarks: "These four arches are known to have been strengthened and faced with more stone soon after the erection of the octagon building at the top; the weight of which was found to be so great that there was danger of its crushing all below that bore any part of it. A very large quantity of stone must have been added. The space between the columns was of course contracted, and the arch at the same time adjusted to the shape then in use. This was done in 1405."

Millers, Ely
Cath. 3rd Ed.
p. 45.

The description of the mechanical action of the octagon may be, no doubt, perfectly correct; but the drawback to the statement is, that no authority is given for the date assigned to the work by which the mischief was counteracted.

All the evidence which now remains with respect to work carried on in this tower is confined to what is found in the rolls of the various officers of the Priory, the Bishop's registers, and the continuation of the Liber

Eliensis, printed in the *Anglia Sacra*. From these documents it appears only that the campanile was for several years under repair during the episcopate of William Grey. Grey was bishop from September 7, 1454, to August 4, 1478, and it is, no doubt, quite possible that he may have only helped to carry on what some predecessor had begun, according to Mr. Millers, half a century before his time, but the tendency of the documentary evidence is rather against this theory.

32 Henry VI.
 { 1 Sept. 1453. }
 { 31 Aug. 1454. }

Grey's predecessor, Thomas Bouchier, or Bowser, held the See of Ely for twenty years, and was then, in the year 1454, translated to Canterbury, while Henry VI. was still alive.

Ang. Sac. p.
 672.

After his promotion he gave 100 marks to the monks of Ely as a contribution to a fund which was raised in aid of the repairs of their church :—"Postea dedit nobis c. marcas ad reparacionem campanilis nostri."

But the date of this gift is unknown, and as Bouchier lived till March 30, 1486, all through the reigns of Edward IV., Edward V., and Richard III., many years after the death of his successor of Ely, it is likely that his assistance was sought and obtained only while the repairs were being pushed on by Grey, whose liberality and architectural tastes are well known.

Ang. Sac.
 i. 673.

The amount of Bishop Grey's donation to the common fund is left blank in the Ely chronicle, as if it were unknown to his biographer :—"Iste ad reparacionem magni campanilis dedit. . . . ;" but there is no reason to doubt his readiness to sanction and assist the Prior and monks in any expenditure which was necessary to secure the safety and preservation of their cathedral.

A great part of the library of Balliol College, where he had been a student at Oxford, was built at his expense, he inserted several windows in the presbytery of his cathedral at Ely, and it is not unlikely that he may

have had in his mind an intention of remodelling the whole Norman church, just as Edingdón and Wykeham had transformed Walkelin's Church at Winchester.

All that is known of him encourages the idea that he was the moving cause of all that was done to ward off a repetition of a catastrophe which the monks had good reasons to fear—the fall of a massive tower.

The earliest of the existing rolls in which the works at the campanile are mentioned, is not a Sacrist's roll, but one drawn up in the office of the Senescallus terrarum, and containing a very significant entry :—"Custus magni campanilis. Solut' ad reparacionem magni campanilis per vices, vij*l.* xviijs." In the same document, under the head of "Dona," is written :—"Dati inter operarios super campanile per vices, ijs. vj*l.*" And again, amongst the "Necessariæ," are entries relating to iron-work :—"In uno gavelok ferri, uno pari de clammis et ij settyngernes ponderantibus in toto x lb. cum aliis ad campanile de Willelmo Smyth emptis, iijs."

14 Edward IV.
{ 4 Mar. 1474. }
{ 3 Mar. 1475. }

In the sixteenth year of Edward the Fourth's reign the tower was still under repair, and the roll of the Senescallus contains the same heading as had been adopted in earlier documents :—"Custus magni campanilis. Solut' ad reparaciones magni campanilis per vices pro parte thesaurarii pro anno preterito, xliijs. vij*l.* ob. Solut' ad reparacionem ejusdem pro anno instante, xvj*l.* viijs. ix*l.* ob."

16 Edward IV.
{ 4 Mar. 1476. }
{ 3 Mar. 1477. }

The Sacrist's accounts for this year do not exist, but his roll for the next year has been found, and furnishes the following extract :—"Solut' ad magn' campanile hoc anno cvjs. iij*l.* ob."

17 Edward IV.
{ 4 Mar. 1477. }
{ 3 Mar. 1478. }

Bishop Grey died on the 4th of August, 1478, in the eighteenth year of Edward the Fourth's reign, but there are no records left for that or the succeeding years by means of which the date of the completion of the tower works can be settled. This is much to be regretted, but

it in no way lessens the importance of the information which we do possess.

The entries in the rolls are conclusive on one point, which must not be overlooked. It is clear that the money expended on the campanile was devoted to necessary repairs, repairs, moreover, of a very costly kind, which occupied the monks, as we know from our limited means of information, for certainly four years, and were met by contributions levied on every department of the priory. The separate heading, "*Custus magni campanilis*," which is used in these accounts, implies that the outlay was an extraordinary one, which might last for a considerable time, and when these facts are considered in connection with the character of the masonry of the present tower piers, and the known tastes of Bishop Grey, it seems perfectly justifiable to conclude that the last important changes in the old campanile were due to his influence.

The whole structure had, no doubt, suffered from two distinct sources of mischief.

It has been already pointed out, that very soon after it was built the tower had subsided, owing to its own sheer weight, and torn itself partially away from the abutments which had at first been considered sufficiently trustworthy to support it, and also to maintain themselves.

In the next place, the effect of loading it with a lofty superstructure, when certainly one of the flanking abutments was gone, was to split the upper part, and perhaps to seriously endanger the stability of the four legs.

The casing of the piers was probably therefore a measure of precaution, about which there was no choice; and this view seems to be favoured by the fact that a new abutment, of apparently the same date, was begun on the north side to compensate for the loss of the galilee erected there by Eustace.

With this view of the case Mr. Essex was not satisfied, although it was the one adopted by his friend Mr. Bentham. He was inclined to believe that the stone octagon on the tower was built after the piers had been cased, and for the following reasons :—

“That it was built since the arches were contracted is most probable, because it is not exactly perpendicular, but inclines the contrary way to the tower, which could not happen from the same settlement which carried the tower from a perpendicular. But this settlement has happened from another cause, not from the settling of the legs, but from the splitting of that part of the tower upon which this octangular building is built. The weight of this octagon pressing upon the arches, which form the top of the tower into that figure, was the cause of its splitting, and though there was some care taken at first to provide against such an accident, yet it was found necessary afterwards to add a frame of timber so contrived as to tye in the walls, and by means of wedges to be tightened whenever it might be necessary ; it is probable that this frame was fixed at the time that the cracks in the tower began to appear, which was not till the timber originally laid in had lost its tye in the parts which first opened, which it is likely did not happen till many years after the building of the octagon, when, by neglect, the wet was suffered to soak into the walls and rot those timbers which, when sound, prevented the arches from spreading.”

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tham. 2nd Ed.
Addenda, p. 3.

This opinion seems to be hardly in keeping with the statements made in the report on the state of the fabric, which Mr. Essex presented to the Dean and Chapter.

He there points out that the octagon tower is so slight a building that it could scarcely stand without the assistance of timber work and other ties of iron.

This was no doubt a deliberate professional deci-

sion, and, for this reason, it seems rather inconsistent to found conclusions respecting the age of a building, which could hardly keep itself together, upon the way in which it had settled down upon old walls which are notoriously ill constructed.

Again: If the masonry added to the base of the great campanile had been only an item in a deliberate plan for raising it sixty or seventy feet, merely for the sake of doing something, the rolls of the Sacrist would most probably show the usual distinctive heading which was adopted when it was his duty to account for expenditure on a new work ; but, instead of this, it is specially mentioned that the money was collected to pay the cost of necessary repairs.

If these objections to the views of Mr. Essex are not conclusive, it still remains to be considered whether the octagon tower has the usual distinctive features of buildings erected in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

When the new piers were built, it was part of the design to make them carry a stone vault, which would have entirely shut out of sight from below all the open arcades of the great campanile, and made the entrance to the nave as gloomy as possible ; but it does not appear that the scheme was ever carried beyond the stage in which it now remains.

Very little interest attaches to anything that has been attempted in connection with this part of the fabric since Grey's time. The repairs or alterations seem to have generally been ill-judged interferences with the old walls, suggested by the constant fear of their tumbling down.

In the Chapter accounts for the year 1669 there are records of money spent for "workmanship and materials in the reparation of the steeple and plumb house adjoining it, on the north side of it, and removing the

bells out of the lantern into the said steeple, and building new belfries in the said steeple."

These "repairs" were made without competent advice, and proved to be a waste of labour, which was condemned before another century had elapsed.

In 1757, Mr. Essex found the one surviving portion of the old western cross aisle still used as "the plumb house," and in a state of great decay.

It "was used as a workshop, and the walls" were "in a worse condition than any part of the church," although "a great deal of work, both of wood and iron," had "been bestowed upon it, but with little judgment and as little service to the building."

The octangular tower was at that time carrying a wooden spire, but, like the building on which it stood, it was in bad repair, and its removal was strongly urged.

"The great octagon tower," he remarks, "is a very slight building, but has been much assisted by the addition of timberwork and other ties of iron, without which it could hardly stand. The spire upon the top of this octagon is neither useful nor ornamental, but, on the contrary, much disservice to the tower on which it stands, and is in itself in bad repair as to the lead-work. . . . The top of the tower on which the octagon stands was originally contracted into a proper form for the support of an octangular spire; but the arches by which it was contracted, with the assistance of the arches below them, having split the tower, a good deal of masonry and carpentry has been added to secure it, but to little purpose, for tho' the carpentry is very good and well contrived for the purpose, the mason's work has done more hurt than good, as may be proved by many cracks that were occasioned by it."

The four small octangular towers which rise from the angles of Ridel's work were in still worse order:—"These four towers were at first but slightly built and

Report to Dean and Chapter of Ely.

Browne Willis, Survey of Cathedrals, vol. ii. 332.

Report to Dean and Chapter of Ely.

very improperly connected with the large one by small arches, which, by their weight, must, in time, be the ruin of them. One of them is at present in so ruinous a condition as to require immediate assistance. . . . The tops of all these towers are in a ruinous state for want of the necessary repairs. . . .”

The repairs undertaken in consequence of this report do not seem to have been executed so satisfactorily as to remove all apprehension of danger, for, in 1802, “the tower was strengthened and tied together with stone in the upper part.”

Millers, Ely
Cath., 3rd Ed.,
p. 39.

At this time the arch between the nave and the tower was closed up, and the belfry was at no very great distance from the pavement, but these obstructions were partly removed by the Chapter. The belfry floor was moved higher up, and, to conceal it from below, a paltry plaster vault was constructed in the tower.

Millers, Ely
Cath., 3rd Ed.,
p. 43.

Five years later, and “the window in the tower above the portico was renewed and beautified with painted glass,” at the expense of Bishop Yorke.

For half a century after this, the campanile had rest, and the plumbers and painters employed on the canons’ houses had undisturbed possession of the transept; but the previous repairs of 1802, or earlier, had been carried out with a great want of judgment—possibly the warnings of Mr. Essex had been in some points neglected—and it became necessary to spend very large sums of money, in order to save the west end of the building from total ruin. The plaster vault and the belfry have been cleared away, and the threatening signs of settlement and unsoundness which were so alarming a few years back, have been so disguised and modified by recent changes as to excite comparatively little attention; and there are probably few who know how difficult it has been to keep the structure together during so many centuries.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE EASTERN ARM OF THE CATHEDRAL.

THE history of the eastern portion of the church is by no means so defective as that of the western.

It has been shown that the Norman cathedral was finished with a square ended presbytery by Abbot Richard, and his work was left undisturbed till the early part of the thirteenth century, when the see was held by Hugh de Northwold, Abbot of S. Edmondsbury, who was consecrated Bishop of Ely at Canterbury on the 10th of June, 1229.

13 Henry III.
 { 28 Oct. 1228. }
 { 27 Oct. 1229 }

This Bishop spent twenty years of his life at Ely, and was one of its most liberal benefactors. He rebuilt the greater part of the palace, he erected suitable houses on the manors attached to the see, he repaired the roof at the west end of the cathedral, and probably put up the roof which now covers the nave.

In the year 1234 he commenced the erection of a new presbytery, which occupied his attention during seventeen years, for it was so far finished in that time, that in the year 1251 it was dedicated, with great solemnity, to S. Mary, S. Peter, and S. Etheldreda.

Hugh de Northwold's addition to the church has fortunately undergone very few alterations: it remains almost as his masons left it, and richly deserves all the praise that has been bestowed on it.

It was dedicated on the 17th of September, 1252, in

the presence of Henry III. and his son, Edward I., who was then about thirteen years old.

The following account of the Bishop's work is extracted from the *Anglia Sacra*.

Brit. Mus.
Harl. 258,
3721.

“Ipse præ omnibus prædecessoribus suis pollet ædificiis prævalet beneficiis. Ipse enim construxit aulam episcopalem in Ely, in Dittoun, in Schipdam, et in ceteris maneriis suis fere in omnibus construxit edificia. Ipse enim edificavit novum opus ecclesiæ nostræ versus orientem a fundamentis, quod Presbiterium nuncupatur, quod quidem opus in xvii annis perfecit, circa quod opus construendum expendidit quinque millia librarum et quadringentas libras, xviii solidos, vii denarios, præter robas. Ipse similiter construxit de novo turrim ligneam versus galileam. Novo opere constructo tota ecclesia Eliensis dedicata erat anno domini M.CC.LII., xv cal. Octobris, in honorem B. Mariæ, B. Petri, et B. Etheldredæ virginis, in presentia Domini Regis Henrici III. et Domini Edwardi filii ejus.”

Ang. Sac.
i. 636.

Brit. Mus.
Tib. A vi.
ff. 246, 248.

The British Museum possesses a memorandum of the annual expenditure on the new presbytery, which makes up in some measure for the deficiencies of this general statement.

The document seems to be a private account of sums spent annually by the Sacrist, as the agent of the Bishop. No details of expenditure are given, but the entries show that although Hugh de Northwold was the main support of the whole undertaking, subscriptions were collected wherever his influence was acknowledged.

Donations were made by the Pitanciaris, the Hostiarius, and the priory generally; and special gifts were also received occasionally from places and persons who declined to be taxed as annual subscribers.

In one year the monks raised 9*l.* 10*s.* 2½*d.* by selling

eels, and paid the amount over to the presbytery building fund; and in like manner, the fees obtained by granting letters of administration were, now and then, given up for the same object.

The Sacrist appears to have had the general superintendence of the work, and his rolls no doubt contained full details of each year's outlay; but these documents have all perished, and the earliest one which is preserved in the Chapter muniments is dated in the reign of Edward I., and after the Bishop's death.

The first paragraph of the manuscript is devoted to the expenditure and receipts of the seventh year:—

“Undecimo kalend' Marcii, anno domini m.cc.xl. scilicet anno vij. ab incepcone nove fabrice ecclesie de Ely reddiderunt M. Sacrista et R. de Stradbroc socius ejus compotum suum de omnibus receptis et expensis factis per manus illorum circa dictam fabricam a die Sancti Botulphi usque ad annum resolutum et inde usque ad dictas kalendas Marcii et fuit recept' illorum per idem tempus ix^{xx} li et liij sol. et vj den. De episcopo, vj^{xx} et xvij li. De Sacrista, xxvj li. xij sol. et iiij dēn. De Pitanciar', xij sol. et iiij dēn. De Marisco, vj sol. et viij den. De Hostiliar', xx sol. De testamentis, xxxj sol. et viij den. De aliis eventibus, xxix sol. et viij den. De Ph. de Panek., v sol. De Stapelford, xij sol. et fuit exp̃na illorum per predictum tempus vij^{xx} et xij lib. xvij sol. ix dēn. et ob. Et sic debent xxvij li. xiiij sol. viij den. et ob. Et sciendum quod prior debet xxij m̃ quas mutuo recepit de episcopo de manucepto quod solveret in Pascha instant' et nichil recepta est in hoc anno de sacrista nec de aliis obedienciar'.”

This extract shows the form in which the accounts were, for the most part, kept; but the receipts, in the earlier stages of the work, are given in one sum, as “Prima recepta, secunda, tertia,” and so on; and

do not always represent the sums collected in one year.

Under the heading of "Secunda recepta," for example, there are three sums—109*l.* 19*s.* 3½*d.*, 39*l.* 8*s.*, and 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*—which are evidently the contributions of three distinct and successive years, transferred to the building account at one time. The returns connected with the eighth and ninth years are combined in the same manner.

In the twelfth year of the work, the Sacrist spent 34*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* more than had been collected; but a memorandum is added, which shows that the Bishop had undertaken to supply any deficiencies of revenue which might occur:—"Et sic deductis expensis debuit episcopus xxxiii*l.* i*j.* s. vii*j.* dēn. Et dictus R. debuit omnia acquietare usque ad diem illum."

The Bishop had already paid 118*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.* as his ordinary contribution for the year, so that, in this particular case, rather more than four-fifths of the expenditure during twelve months came from him alone.

An attempt has been made to simplify the Sacrist's memorandum, by arranging its contents in parallel columns, under different headings, as shown in the next page. No additions of any kind have been made to the original document; but where it is clear, from internal evidence, that the items belonging to two or three years have been entered under one general title, they have been redistributed under the dates to which they really belong.

It will be observed that from the year 1234 to the year 1239, there is no mention of any outlay on building, and although this may be owing to the very imperfect form of the document from which our information is got, it may also be explained in another way.

Towards the end of the year 1235, Bishop Hugh

Annus Domini.	Period included in each return.	Date of the return.	Year of the new work.	Amount of money collected.		Amount expended on the new work.		Balance due by the Sacristan carried to next account.		Names of the monks who kept the accounts.
				£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
1234. 1235. 1236. 1237. 1238. 1239. 1239-40.	A die S. Botulphi usque ad annum resolutum et inde usque ad dictas Kalendas Marcii (June 17 th 1239, to 19 Febr 1240) Ab Kalendas Marcii Anno Domini m ^o cc ^o xl usque ad festum S. Clementis a ^o d ⁱ m ^o cc ^o xlj ^o (19 Febr 1240 to Nov. 17 or 23, 1242) A festo S. Clementis a ^o d ⁱ m ^o cc ^o xlj ^o usque ad diem illum	11 Kal. Marcii m ^o cc ^o xl.* 1242 Die Sabbati proximo ante festum S. Laurentii A.D. m ^o cc ^o xlj ^o Die Sancti Laurentii A.D. m ^o cc ^o xlj ^o Die S. Rufi v ^o Kal. Septembris A.D. m ^o cc ^o xl quinto,† 1246 1247 Die Sancti Petri ad vincula m ^o cc ^o xlviij.† Die Sancti Michaelis m ^o cc ^o xlx Dominica proxima ante diem Sancti Michaelis m ^o cc ^o l ^o	1st year 2nd year 3rd year 4th year 5th year 6th year 7th year 8th and 9th years 10th year 11th year 12th year 13th year 14th year 15th year 16th year 17th year	£ 276 9 3½ 109 19 3 39 8 0 6 13 4 202 13 10½ 2 1 3½ 182 13 6 202 5 9½ 113 15 2½ 204 5 3½ 166 17 9 192 19 0 476 16 2½ 322 13 3½ 373 1 5½ 207 8 2½ 26 3 10½	s. 3 3 8 4 10½ 3½ 6 9½ 2½ 8½ 9 0 2½ 3½ 13 2½ 10½	£ 153 18 9½ 184 7 6½ 91 17 8 188 1 8½ 201 0 5 192 19 0 452 10 6 322 13 3½ 373 13 0 209 1 3½ 49 9 11½	s. 9½ 6½ 8 7 5 0 6 3½ 0 3½ 11½	£ 28 14 8½ 17 18 3 21 17 6½ 16 3 7 34 2 8 0 11 6½ 1 13 1½ 23 6 0½	s. 0 3 6½ 7 8 6½ 1½ 0½	M. Sacrista et R. de Stradebroc socius suus " " " R. de Stradebrok " " Adam de Burgo " " "
				3106	4 8	2419 13 2½	108 19 9	72 4 4½		

† 1 Aug. 1248.

* 19 Feb. 1240. † 27 Aug. 1245.

* 19 Feb. 1240. † 27 Aug. 1245.

was sent to France as an ambassador to negotiate a marriage between Henry III. and Eleanor, daughter of Raymond V., Count of Provence. He did not return to England till January, 1236, when the King was married, and it is quite possible that, so long as he was actively employed in matters connected with the state, and unable to visit his diocese, very little progress was made in carrying out the designs adopted for his new building. When he was absent from Ely the expenditure was insignificant, and the receipts dwindled down to 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

The last entry refers to so very short a period in the year 1250 that the presbytery works must have been then coming to a close, and the Sacrist's duties in connection with them probably ceased at Christmas.

As the new presbytery was merely a continuation of the Norman one, it was not necessary to make many changes in the old church. The east wall of Abbot Richard's presbytery was, of course, entirely pulled down; but the north and south walls were, to a great extent, preserved and worked into the new building. Two of the Norman ceiling piers were used to conceal the junction of the two presbyteries, and the only alteration they underwent was the removal of their Norman capitals.

Bishop Hugh gave them capitals of Purbeck marble, harmonizing with his general design, and then used them to carry one of the spandril solids of the vault which finishes his work.

In this way they became so thoroughly incorporated with the Early English presbytery that they have resisted all subsequent alterations, and remain where he left them, disconnecting two styles of architecture.

In Hugh's time they of course separated the Norman and Early English presbyteries; but when the Norman central campanile fell, many years afterwards, and further changes in the fabric swept away still more

of the original church, the architect of the day followed the example of his predecessor, and spared the remnant of the old Norman presbytery. The old piers which had served as the western limit of Hugh's work, were adopted as the eastern of John de Hotham's, and they still maintain their old ground, the only fragment left of the eastern limb of Richard's church.

These piers are figured 18 in the general plan, but there is no difficulty in detecting them in the church itself.

Bishop Hugh's presbytery is inclined slightly to the south, but the plan in Plate 3 is on too small a scale to show very distinctly its deviation from the general axis of the building.

The uniformity of the general disposition of the various parts of the building has been already noticed. In the Early English presbytery the walls rise to the same height as those of the Norman nave, and the floors of the galleries are kept to one and the same level. The relative altitudes of the three storeys, the pier arch, triforium, and clerestory are preserved through the church, and the spacing of the piers is also about the same.

The design of the inside wall of the triforium of Bishop Hugh's building is evidently copied from that used for the Norman triforium, as shown by Professor Willis (p. 78 below). In both cases a circumscribing arch embraces two sub-arches, rising from a central pier. The arches differ in shape; the sub-arch spandril in the new presbytery is filled with plate tracery, and the central pier is a compound one, but there is the same leading idea in both compositions.

The plans of new buildings are, indeed, so much influenced by the arrangements of the old ones to which they are attached, that the square end of the presbytery may have been copied from what was standing when Hugh commenced his work.

The original wooden roof which protected the vaults was destroyed in the eighteenth century, and the present one substituted by Mr. Essex. The reasons for this change are given in the following extract from his report to the Dean and Chapter.

“There is no part of this church that requires more care than the roof over the presbytery, and there is no part that has been more neglected.” “The timber work of this roof never was good, being, when new, but an indifferent piece of work. All the rafters are now leaning towards the east end of the church, and by their inclination that way have forced the end much out of the perpendicular, and to prevent its falling a tye of timber has been added, running from the east end the whole length of the roof, and fixed to the stonework of the lantern, but as the part to which it is fixed is by no means capable of supporting, that tye is of no use; it is the lead work and boarding only that prevent the whole roof from running to the east.”

Before this report was made some attempts had been made to check the ruin which was threatening, but “nothing was done as it ought to be.” “As all parts of this building,” the report continues, “have such a dependence on each other that one cannot be neglected without endangering the rest, as much care should be taken to preserve the masonry, as the roof, in good repair; for this reason we ought to consider how the vaulting in the middle can subsist if those parts which conduce to its support are suffered to decay. The cracks that appear in the further arches show the necessity of keeping not only the roof in good order, but of preserving the arched buttresses with all their appurtenances in good and substantial repair. They show the reason there was for altering the form of those buttresses, and the necessity of adding tye-beams to the roof, which, though neglected now, were not

added without good reason, and cannot be long neglected without danger. As the finials upon the tops of the outer buttresses are much out of repair, I imagine they have been neglected as useless and only ornamental; but this is a great mistake, and the loss of them would be more detrimental to the strength than the ornament of the building."

The disposition of the pieces of this roof is known from a drawing made by Mr. Essex and preserved in the British Museum; and the names of the pieces are given in the Sacrist's memorandum which has supplied the table of expenses &c., printed in page 71.

"Ad ecclesiam de Ely.

Cheveroni ecclesie longit', xlvi ped'.

Antrabes, xxvj ped'.

Sublatus antrabū, xvij ped'.

Minor trabes superior, xij ped'.

Latus, x ped'.

Corbiliones, iij ped'.

Et latus eorum, iij uł v. ped'.

It appears from the sketch left by Mr. Essex that the roof of the presbytery was a trussed rafter, or compass roof, open to the leads, an exact counterpart of that which now covers the nave; and as it is known that Bishop Hugh directed his attention to the roof at the west end of the building, and repaired the woodwork on Ridel's tower, it is probable that he roofed the church from east to west.

Mr. Essex mentions in that part of his report on the presbytery which has been extracted the dangerous state of the east wall. It overhung its base two feet, but was got back into the position it now occupies by means of screws. It has fortunately suffered very little from alterations. All the tabernacles are empty, the windows of the side ailes are insertions, and the angle piers have been considerably raised, but the leading features

Brit. Mus. Add.
6772, f. 221.

Brit. Mus. Tib.
A vi. f. 248.

Page 74.

Bentham's
History of Ely,
p. 284.
Millers, Ely
Cathedral, 3rd
Ed. p. 75.

Plate 12.

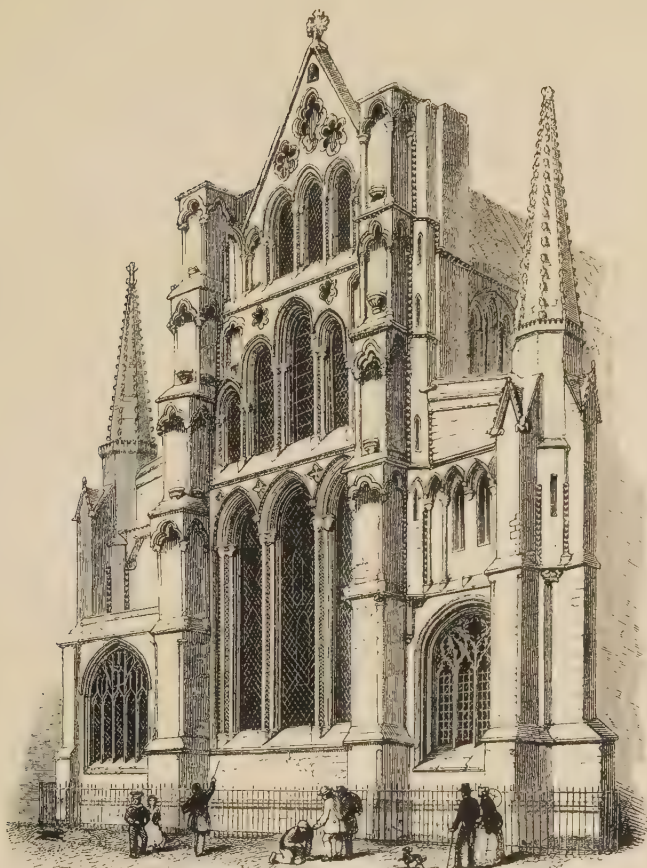
of the work have been so far preserved that its merits as a composition can be thoroughly enjoyed. The great square piers from which the gable rises were probably never finished, and it is much better that they should remain as they were left by the Bishop.

The greatest alterations to which Bishop Hugh's presbytery has been subjected, are those to be observed in the triforium and buttresses. These changes were traced out with great care by Professor Willis, many years ago, and the account of them which follows has been kindly drawn up by him for the present work.

" In the year 1848 I communicated to the Institute of British Architects a paper on the *Triforium*, in the course of which, amongst other points, I traced the various changes and alterations to which this portion of the structure had been subjected in several of our Norman cathedrals and monastic churches. One of the most remarkable of the examples I adduced was the triforium of Ely, and I propose in this place to repeat the analysis of that structure which I gave to the Institute, as above related, the result of careful and repeated study of that cathedral and others.

" The triforium of a large Norman church is a gallery extending over the side aisle vault, the upper surface of which is covered and filled up with earth and masons' rubbish, so as to provide a level floor. The outer boundary of this gallery is a wall raised in continuation of the side aisle wall, and pierced with windows, which, being intended solely to light the gallery, are low, and not visible from the central alley below. The gallery opens to this central alley by compound arcades, but the spectators below can only see the rafters of the sloping roof of the triforium gallery through these arcades.

" At Norwich, Peterborough, Ely, and other considerable churches, these triforia have undergone changes,



THE PRESBYTERY. EAST END.

Erected by Bishop Hugh de Northwold, A.D. 1234—1250.

made evidently for the purpose of introducing more light into the church, and relieving the gloominess of the original construction above described. These changes consist simply in raising the outer wall of the triforium, and thus altering the slope of its roof, so as to render it nearly flat, giving it merely a sufficient inclination to throw off the water. The original low and small Norman windows are walled up, and high windows substituted, having tracery in accordance with the style in vogue when the change was made.

“ Nevertheless, there are always sufficient portions of the jambs or other members of these old windows to be traced here and there, so as to enable the primitive form to be detected. At Ely, the east wall of the north transept being in an obscure corner, retained its original triforium unaltered, and even the original Norman parapet above it, at the period of my researches; and this has hitherto escaped the fate of many other precious specimens of original masonic documentary evidence, replaced by an alleged copy of the old stonework, or swept away altogether.

Plate 9.

“ These matters being premised, we shall now be enabled to understand the changes that have taken place in the Early English presbytery.

“ The previous history of the cathedral has shown that Bishop Hugh de Northwold erected the presbytery (six severies in length), in continuation of the Norman one, in the middle of the thirteenth century. The fall of the tower in the succeeding century caused the ruined Norman choir to be replaced by the Decorated severies now standing. Hence, at the present time, a spectator viewing the southern exterior of the present presbytery, sees three Decorated severies at its west end, succeeded in order eastward by six Early English severies. Their architectural character, however, is disturbed by many inserted windows, and other alterations.

Plate 13.

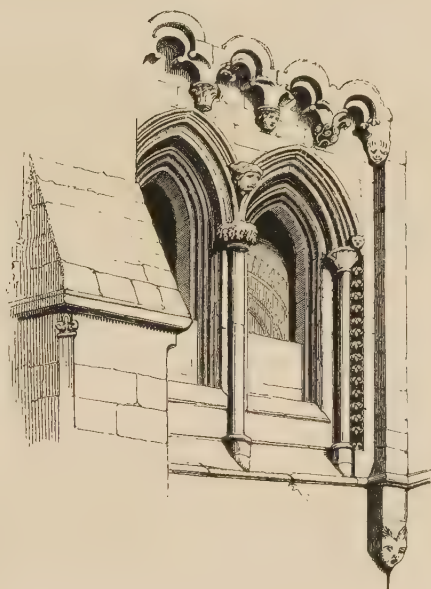
“ Especially it will be observed, that in the two westerly Early English compartments of the triforium, the original low wall and windows remain ; but the roof of this part of the triforium gallery is wholly removed, and the arcades of plate tracery, which once opened from the gallery to the church, are replaced by glazed windows of late Decorated character.

“ In the remainder of the Early English presbytery the triforium wall was, at first, necessarily the same as in the portion just mentioned, but it has wholly disappeared, a high triforium wall, with late Decorated windows, having been substituted for it.

“ There are also variations in the buttresses that will be explained after we have developed the history of these changes.

“ When Hugh de Northwold erected the presbytery, he built his own work so as to place its architectural members within and without at the same levels as in the corresponding parts of the Norman work. His pier arch story, his triforium, and his clerestory floors, are at the Norman levels, and the disposition of their arcading as similar as was practicable, yet moldings, capitals, and all the decorative elements are purely those of the respective periods of their construction. Evidently his low external triforium wall, of which the two compartments above mentioned alone remain, was a continuation of the Norman triforium, on the same principle as it, and its roof was laid at the same inclination as the Norman roof.

“ In Bishop Hotham’s work, erected, as first mentioned, to replace the ruined Norman choir, the interior levels of the great members of the composition were preserved, but the outer wall of his triforium is high, and furnished with lofty windows, with tracery of his period. This seems to be the first introduction of the high outer triforium wall into this cathedral.



THE PRESBYTERY.

One compartment of the Triforium outer wall as built by Bishop Hugh de Northwold, A.D. 1234—1250.

“ In the following centuries this new form was extended by alterations, first to Hugh de Northwold’s presbytery, and next to the nave. But before the Early English triforium gallery had been thus completely transformed, it happened that some architect, apparently employed by Bishop Barnet, introduced in two of the southern compartments a method of getting rid of the gloom of the low windowed Early English triforium, which, although perfectly successful within the church, would, if it had been carried throughout, have been productive of a most injurious effect upon the appearance of the fabric within and without, as may be seen at present in the compartments in question.

“ By removing in these the roof of the triforium gallery, and inserting glazed tracery in lieu of the open plate tracery of the triforium arcade already mentioned, he introduced a flood of light upon the choir altar, the shrines in its neighbourhood, and Bishop Barnet’s tomb under the pier arch, which is beneath one of these windows, placing as usual the benefactor in the midst of his work, as a lasting memorial of his liberality.

“ Had this expedient been approved of, it would probably not only have been extended to the whole of the presbytery, but also followed, as in some other cases, by the entire removal of the low triforium outer wall and windows, rendered useless by the change.

“ Fortunately, the expedient was in this cathedral confined to two compartments on the south, and after a considerable time had elapsed, the low Early English outer wall of the remainder of this triforium was pulled down and replaced by the high wall and late Decorated or Perpendicular windows that are now in existence. But this general alteration, by which the exterior aspect of the cathedral was greatly altered, was accompanied in the presbytery by changes in the buttresses and pinnacles that will be best understood by reference to Plate 4,

which contains a section of the presbytery laid down by me from my own sketches and measurements.

“ The section is made through the middle of the severies, so as to show the position of the windows, aile walls and roof lines. The vertical and flying buttresses are shown in elevation in a lighter tint.

“ It is taken through one of the compartments which preserve the original triforium wall and buttresses at the right hand. The left hand half of the section shows the present state, as well of the entire north side of the Early English presbytery, as of the four eastern compartments of the south side.

“ The differences between the present and original states consist, first, in the alteration of the triforium roof and windows already explained ; secondly, in the entire removal of the Early English flying buttresses and pinnacles, and the substitution of others of a different form (shown by the different hatching). This change of form was made, not for the sake of adopting a new fashion, but for sound mechanical reasons. These Early English vertical buttresses are more or less pushed out of the perpendicular by their flying buttresses, and the form of the newly erected buttresses is one which exerts a better directed mechanical pressure, and a more effective resistance.

“ Each vertical buttress is terminated upwards by a shaft and pinnacle, and receives the pressure of two flying buttresses ; the upper one intended to transmit the outward thrust of the roof timbers to the vertical buttress, the lower one to transmit the thrust of the vault to the same buttress.

“ By comparing the original vertical buttress in Fig. A with the altered one in Fig. B, it will be seen that the alteration commences at the points NN'. The lower part, MN, of all the early English buttresses remains intact. But from upwards the buttress and pinnacle was in all,

excepting the three already mentioned, rebuilt in a form which is set inwards so as to place the centre of the shaft and pinnacle three feet nearer to the church. It is also ten feet higher than the old one. Thus the centre of gravity of the vertical buttress is removed to a greater horizontal distance from the front (M) of the buttress by which it is enabled to exert a greater resistance to the outward thrust of the flying buttresses. This resistance is augmented by the greater height, and consequently weight, of the pinnacle.

“By comparing the two sides of the drawing, it will be perceived that the new flying buttresses are also inclined downwards at a much greater horizontal angle than the old ones, especially the upper one. Thus the direction of this thrust has a greatly diminished leverage in its action to push the vertical buttress outwards. The upper and lower of each pair (P and GHK) of the Early English flying buttresses are perfectly distinct and separated. But the change of inclination in the later pair of flying buttresses, F' and G'K', had the effect of causing their two arches, which spring from the roof-level and the vault level respectively, to coalesce into one mass before they reach the junction with the vertical buttress, in a manner which is shown in the drawing, and which offers a much firmer resistance to the outpushing actions of the roof and vault than the two slender isolated arch buttresses of the original Early English structure.”

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE LANTERN.

38 Henry III.
 { 28 Oct. 1253. }
 { 27 Oct. 1254. }

BISHOP HUGH de Northwold died in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Henry III., on the 6th of August, A.D. 1254, and at that time the cathedral was still in all its main features Abbot Richard's Norman church. The nave and east transept had not been meddled with, and at their intersection the original Norman tower was yet in existence. The north and south walls of Richard's presbytery were standing, though lengthened towards the east by Hugh's additions.

So the building remained for sixty-eight years ; but on the 12th of February, 1322, the original Norman central tower fell to pieces and destroyed the choir.

Symptoms of approaching ruin had shown themselves some time before ; and as the tower was found to be unsound, the services had not been performed in the choir beneath it, but in the chapel of St. Catherine, which is supposed to have been in the west transept.

The rottenness of the tower piers was such that repair was out of the question ; and the structure was left to stand as long as its legs would bear it.

On the vigil of the feast of St. Eormenilda, as the monks were returning from the church to their dormitory, the old campanile fell with a crash, which is said to have shaken the whole city of Ely. Fortunately no

one was injured, and the canopy which protected the sepulchres of the holy virgins was untouched.

“*Nam in nocte ante diem Festi Sanctæ Ermenildæ, post matutinas in Capellâ S. Katerinæ decantatas eo quod in choro propter imminentem ruinam illas decantare conventus non audebat, facta namque processione ad feretra in honore S. Ermenildæ, et conventu in dormitorium regrediente, vix paucis fratribus in lectulis suis ingressis, et ecce subito et repente ruit campanile super chorum cum tanto strepitu et fragore; veluti putabatur terræ motus fieri; neminem tamen lædens nec opprimens in ruinâ. Aliud etiam contigit mirabile, miraculo potius ascribendum quam naturæ; quod in illa horribili ruina et lapidum collisione maxima, unde tota fere tremebat Elyensis villa, illa tamen pulcra et magna fabrica eminens supra Sanctarum Virginum sepulcra, protegente Deo et meritis suæ dilectæ virginis Etheldredæ, ut speratur, ab omni læsione salvata est et fractura: Unde Christo sit gloria.*”

Ang. Sac. i.
643, 4.

This catastrophe happened when the see of Ely was filled by John de Hothum, or Hotham, chaplain to King Edward II.; who had been elected on July 20, 1316, and consecrated on the 3rd of October in that same year, the tenth namely of the King's reign.

Ang. Sac. i.
643.

10 Ed. II.
{ 8 July, 1316. }
{ 7 July, 1317. }

This Bishop had a considerable share in most of the transactions which disgraced the reign of that feeble King.

He went to France with Edward on the occasion of the coronation of the Queen's brother in 1313, and had been appointed to treat with her father, Philip the Fourth. He acted as a royal commissioner with full powers to settle the disturbances raised in Ireland by the King's enemies, and in 1317 was treasurer of the royal exchequer, and Lord Chancellor of England. He went with the royal army in its fruitless campaign in Northumberland against the Scots in 1319, was employed to ne-

gotiate peace with Sir Robert de Brus, and when the Queen, Isabel of Valois, treasonably invaded England with Flemish auxiliaries, he encouraged her with his presence, and supported her with his vassals. Having used his influence at court to secure various privileges for the monasttry, which had been enriched by his numerous endowments, he died on the 15th of January, 1336, in the ninth year of Edward III.

9 Ed. III.
 { 25 Jan. 1335. }
 { 24 Jan. 1336. }

The Prior at this period in the history of the monastery was John of Crawden, or Crowden, a village in the south of Cambridgeshire, which is now known under the name of Croydon.

14 Ed. II.
 { 8 July, 1320. }
 { 7 July, 1321. }

He was elected in the fourteenth year of Edward II., May 20, 1321, and entered on his office when the finances of the corporation were in confusion through the infirmities, and incompetence, of Prior John of Fresingfield,* who retired, in his favour, on a pension which he enjoyed for eighteen years.

The new Prior, possessing unusual administrative skill, met with promptness and judgment the emergencies of his position. He paid off the large outstanding debts which embarrassed the monks, increased the revenues of the church, purchased new estates, added sumptuous halls to the monastery, and entertained with becoming magnificence even royalty itself. He was in the eyes of his monks, "*dilectus Deo et hominibus cujus memoria benedictione sit sempiterna.*"

Ang. Sac. i.
649.

The Queen of Edward III. treated him as a friend, honoured his priory with her presence, and bestowed on him the jewelled robes of state worn at her thanksgiving after the birth of the Black Prince. "*Ipse pulcher erat aspectu, et corpore formosus, ac in oculo omni apparuit gratosus. Ita quod venerabilis Domina*

Ang. Sac. i.
649.

Ang. Sac. i. 643.

* "*Impotens factus corpore, et in Festo S. Julianæ Virginis et imbecillis . . . cessit Martyris.*"
 Prioratui Elyensi, xiv Kal. Martii

Philippa, nobilis Anglorum Regina, ipsum in amicitiam preclaram collegit et familiaritatem."

To provide for the education of the body under his presidency, he purchased property at Cambridge, and maintained three or four young monks at the University, till Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, purchased the site to build a hall, now represented by Trinity Hall; on which occasion the Ely monks, along with other Benedictines, established themselves in Monk's College, on the opposite bank of the river Cam, where Magdalen College now stands.

John of Crawden died on the 25th of September, 1341, in the fifteenth year of Edward III., having been Prior for twenty years.

Ang. Sac. i.
650.

15 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1341. }
{ 24 Jan. 1342 }

He was buried in the presbytery, at the feet of Bishop John de Hotham, who pointed out to him the spot in which he desired their remains to be placed as they were leaving the high altar together, on one occasion, after the celebration of mass.

"Sepultus est in ecclesiâ Elyensi in pavimento ad pedes tumuli Johannis de Hothum episcopi versus magnum altare: sicut idem ipse Johannes episcopus, ut dicitur, quasi spiritu prophetico dixit. Nam cum Missam quodam die celebrasset in ecclesiâ ad magnum altare, post missam revertens ad vestiarium, indumenta pontificalia depositurus, contigit baculum suum pastorem in eodem loco, in quo modo sepultus est, confringi. Et conversus ad Priorem, qui iter secum comitabatur, dixit—Prior, inquit, hic erit locus sepulturæ meæ; et tu hic ad pedes meos in posterum sepelieris; quod et postmodum factum est. Unde versificator quidam epitaphium scribens sic ait.

Ang. Sac. i.
650.

Hanc aram decorat de Craudene tumba Johannis,
Qui fuit hic Prior ad bona pluria pluribus annis.
Præsulis hunc sedes elegit pontificari
Præsulis ante pedes ideo meruit tumulari."

Alan de Walsingham was elected Sub-prior on the same day that John of Crawden was chosen Prior, but he held the office for a few months only, and was then made Sacrist. He held this post for twenty years, till the death of John of Crawden, when he was made Prior; but it was as Sacrist that his name has become so inseparably connected with the architectural history of Ely Cathedral.

When the piers of the central campanile crumbled to fragments, the great mass of the tower seems to have fallen eastward, and to have ruined the walls of the Norman presbytery with which it was connected.

The injury done to the church towards the west was apparently slight, since the stone screen which had bounded the Norman choir enclosure in that direction was standing even in the eighteenth century.

The monks were so fully prepared for whatever might happen when the tower should actually come to the ground, that they were not dismayed at having to reconstruct a large portion of their church.

The Sacrist's duty was really limited to providing for the ordinary repairs of the fabric, but as soon as the full extent of the mischief was known, he undertook to replace the tower with the present octagon, and the Bishop commenced the erection of three new severies on the site of the old presbytery walls.

The Bishop's share in this new work is recorded in the following passage:—"Ipse vero fieri fecit illam novam fabricam pulcram valde incipientem ab opere bonæ memoriæ Hugon' de Northwolde protendentem ad novam fabricam chori, cujus expensæ ad mmxxxiv. lib. xii. sol. viii. den. ob. qu. se extendunt."

No time was lost in clearing away the heaps of stone and timber which blocked up the church. The plan of the new construction was settled, and the site carefully examined, that eight spots might be selected for the

foundation of eight stone piers, that were to carry the new structure.

The four tower piers, whose unsoundness was the probable cause of the whole disaster, were entirely cleared away to secure an open area for the lantern; but the eight half-ruined piers, which stood next to them in the four great divisions of the church, were spared, because they partially occupied the eight "places," as the Chronicle calls them, which were selected for the piers of the new building.

The foundations of these old piers were accordingly enlarged, as well as strengthened, by ramming down stone and sand, while the original Norman masonry, as far as it was sound, was incorporated with the new stonework.

In other words, the remains of the earlier church were adapted to the requirements of the new one whenever it was possible.

It followed, from this arrangement of the new piers, that the stone octagon could not be equilateral. "There are four longer and four shorter sides, alternate, and respectively equal." The longer sides corresponding, of course, with the middle aisle of the nave and presbytery.

The site of the old tower piers is marked on the plan, Plate 3, by the four letters A, B, C, D; and the eight "places" chosen by Alan de Walsingham, are figured a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h.

In the angles made by the meeting of the walls of the side aisles of the east transept with those of the nave and presbytery, the foundations of piers were also laid, from which flying buttresses were afterwards carried to the angles of the stone octagon.

This scheme could not be carried out in the south-west angle, on account of a rich Norman door-arch which opened into the nave from the east alley of the cloister; but the transept wall was there strengthened

Millers, Ely,
p. 65.

by a mass of masonry, which covers up a large portion of the door-arch.

The work thus begun was carried on, according to some documents, for six years, and finished, as far as the upper string course, in the year 1328.

In that same year the wooden portion of the new campanile was commenced, and is said to have been in hand fourteen years, that is, till the year 1342.

The Sacrist expended on these works 240*6*l. 6*s.* 11*d.*

There are several authorities for the history of the structural changes caused by the fall of the old Norman tower, and some of these are incorporated in the version printed in the *Anglia Sacra*.

Wharton used, as the basis of his text, a copy of the Chronicle which is still preserved in the library at Lambeth, where there is also the following summary of the dates of all the chief buildings erected at Ely in the fourteenth century.

Lambeth MSS.,
448.

14 Edw. II.
{ 8 July, 1320. }
{ 7 July, 1321. }

“ Notandum quod Capella Beatæ Mariæ Virginis incepit construi in Ely per fratrem Johannem Wysbech, anno Domini mcccxxi. et consummata erat anno ejusdem mcccxlix. Item lanterna incepit construi per fratrem Alanum Walsyngham, tunc Sacristam anno Domini mcccxxij, et in sex annis consummavit opus lapideum super viij columpnas, et in xij annis consummavit totum opus ligneum mirifice factum anno mcccxliij, circa quod expendidit m'm'ccccvj*li.* vjs. xj*d.*, etc. Item novus chorus incepit fieri decenter et sumptuose tempore Edwardi Tertii in anno Domini mcccxxxvij. vel 1339, per fratrem R. de Saxmundham, qui recepit de executoribus domini Johannis Hotham Episcopi xls., et de aliis officiariis et O, et olla et convocationibus fratrum plures pecunias.

“ Hotham Episcopus factus est anno Domini mcccxvj, et moriebatur anno Domini mcccxxxvj, infra quos annos fecit illud novum opus super candelabrum.

“ Novus chorus factus erat tempore E. tercii regis anno xij aut 1338 per fratrem R. de Saxmundham, qui recepit de executoribus domini Johannis Hotham Episcopi xls., et de aliis officiariis et O, et olla et convocationibus fratrum plures pecunias.”

This outline of the works undertaken by the Sacrist agrees in all material points with the account given in the Chronicle of the Bishops, with which it is bound up.

The following extract from the Chronicle is printed with one or two corrections of Wharton's text.

After mentioning the ruin of the old campanile, and the miraculous preservation of the shrines of the saints, the writer represents Alan de Walsingham as deeply perplexed and overwhelmed at the ruinous condition to which the church was reduced.

“ Ex quo eventu dampnoso nimis et lamentabili præfatus Sacrista Alanus dolens vehementer et tristis effectus, quo se verteret vel quid ageret ad tantam ruinam resarciendam penitus ignorabat. Sed resumpto spiritu, in Dei adjutorio et suæ piissimæ matris Mariæ, necnon et in meritis S. Virginis Etheldredæ plurimum confidens, manum misit ad forciam; et primo lapides et ligna quæ conciderant in illa ruina, cum magno labore et expensis variis extra ecclesiam fecit apportare et ipsam de pulvere nimio, qui ibi erat, celeritate qua potuit emundare; et locum in quo novum campanile fuisset constructurus, per viii partes arte architectonica mensuratas, in quibus viii columnæ lapideæ totum ædificium supportantes erigerentur, et infra quas chorus postea cum stallis esset construendus, fodere fecit et scrutari, donec inveniret locum solidum ubi fundamentum operis secure possit inchoare. Illis siquidem viii locis sic, ut prædicitur, sollicitè scrutatis, lapidibus et arena firmiter condensatis; tunc demum illas viii columpnas cum subsequenti opere lapideo inchoavit. Quod quidem opus usque ad superi-

Ang. Sac. i.
644.

orem tabulatum per vi* annos consummatum anno Domini mcccxxviii. Et statim eodem anno illa artificiosa structura lignea novi campanilis summo ac mirabili mentis ingenio ymaginata, super prædictum opus lapideum ædificanda fuit incepta et maximis et onerosis expensis, præsertim pro lignis grossis structuræ prædictæ necessario congruentibus longe lateque querendis et difficultate maxima tandem inventis magno precio comparatis; ac per terram et per mare apud Ely adductis, necnon et per ingeniosos artifices sculptis et fabricatis, atque in ipso opere artificiose coadunatis; honorificam et optatam auxiliante Deo sortita est consummationem.

“ Custus novi campanilis per xx annos tempore fratris Alani de Walsyngham Sacristæ, mmcccvi libræ, vi solidi, xi denarii, unde de donis ccvi libræ, xii denarii. Custus novæ cameræ juxta infirmariam per tres annos lx libræ, xvii solidi, ix denarii obolus. Custus novi muri juxta cimiterium cum seldis ibidem perquisitis una cum constructione novarum domorum, portarum et murorum per circuitum in Sacristaria per xii annos, cxxxi libræ, xiii solidi, xi denarii quadrans. Unde pro quatuor seldis perquisitis xi libræ, x denarii. Perquisitio de Brame Gaceld xlii libræ. Perquisitio duarum partium de Brame ultime perquisita, scilicet de Walsham et de Baas clxxx libræ, x libræ, xiiij solidi, vi denarii. Custus de la Bougre ix libræ, xv solidi, ix denarii. Memorandum quod nichil computatur superius de cibo et potu, equis carectis et omnibus aliis. Summa totalis receptorum in sacristaria per xx annos tempore fratris Alani de Walsyngham mmmmm ix^c liiij*li*. xvijs. Unde de officio v^m vii^o xlviii*li*. iiij*s*. xi*d*. ob qu et pro novo opere de donis et contributis ccv*li*. xii*s*. qu.

“ Summo omnium expensarum et librarum tam pro officio quam pro novo opere mmmmmmmxciv*li*. xviijs. x*d*.

* xvi. MS. C.C.C. Library, Cambridge.

ob. qu. Unde pro officio mmm^{del}l xxxv*li*. xixs. vij*d*. ob.
et pro expensis circa novum opus mmecccviii*li*. xixs.
iij*d*. q.

“Novus chorus factu serat tempore Edwardi iii. Regis
anno xij A.D. mcccxxxviii. per fratrem R. de Saxmund-
ham, qui recepit de executoribus Domini Johannis
Hotham Episcopi xl solidos et de aliis officiariis et olla
et convocationibus fratrum plures pecunias. Ipse autem
Johannes Episcopus fecit novum pontem lapideum
apud Castellhyth et expedivit in cv solidis, vi denariis,
anno Edwardi iii. Regis xiii.”

12 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1338. }
{ 24 Jan. 1339. }

The passage beginning “Novus chorus,” &c., appears
as a note added to the text, but the age of the hand-
writing seems to be the same, and the whole sentence
has been probably copied from the memorandum re-
lating to the buildings which has been already trans-
ferred to these pages.

In the copy of the Lives of the Bishops which is
preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College,
Cambridge, the text ends with the expense of the new
work.

The paragraph beginning “Novus chorus,” &c., is
omitted, and a period of sixteen years, instead of six,
is allowed for the completion of the stonework of the
campanile.

The masonry of the octagon, however, was never
finished at all, and both these statements must be
received with some qualification. The writers of these
accounts probably meant that the walls were sufficiently
raised to permit the carpenters to commence the con-
struction of the wooden vault with which the choir was
covered.

But the architectural history of the church in the
fourteenth century is preserved in documents, much
more interesting than the bare summaries which have
been given by way of introduction. The treasury of

the cathedral possesses a tolerably complete series of Sacrists' rolls, which give a more than usually vivid picture of that busy time, when the fabric, both of the church and convent, underwent more remarkable changes than had ever been attempted, in any period of its previous history; and from these rolls the yearly growth of the new structure will be traced.

Twelve months before the central tower fell on Lady Day, A.D. 1321, the 14th of Edward II., Alan de Walsingham had laid the first stone of the new Lady Chapel which had been begun under the direction of John of Wisbech. Ely had thus already a small staff of skilled workmen, and before the summer of 1322 was over, masons and carpenters were actively occupied in making preparation for the new campanile, which was to occupy the monks for many years to come.

16 Ed. II.

{ 8 July, 1322.
7 July, 1323. }

The earliest roll of Alan de Walsingham's which exists is for the 16th Edward II., and it accounts for 156*l.* 9*s.* 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* which were spent in preparations for building, the Sacrist having a balance of 44*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* against him.

The first business was to strengthen the roads and bridges leading into Ely, in anticipation of the unusual wear and tear coming upon them. The tracks to Stuntney and Soham were accordingly mended with fresh rushes, and the bridges they crossed were repaired with new timber and ironwork:—"In xxxvij^m v^c et dī diversorum clavorum empt' cum portagio et cariagio eorundem de Nundinis de Reche et Sterisbrigge usque Ely, lxiiijs. viij*d.* q^a. In uno baskette et iiij corbell cum canevatio emptis pro predictis clavibus imponendis et cooperiendis, xix*d.* ob. q^a. In expensis ementis predicta, v*d.* In lxiiij peciis ferri emptis, xiijs. xi*d.* ob. Item in uno c de ferro Ispanie, iijs. x*d.*" A road, or open space, in Ely, called Seggewyk, which is supposed

to have been near the water-side, was got ready, at the cost of $7\frac{1}{2}l.$, to bear the weight of carts of stone, and a crane or "frene" was constructed. Simon, the glazier's boy, was sent to Barnak, in Northamptonshire, to look out for stone, and for the carriage from Barnak to Ely $6l. 18s.$ were paid. "Pendaunt" or wrought stone was got from Swafham in Cambridgeshire, and Peter "Quadratararius" with his brother came to Ely as head mason.

Carpenters were wanted to put up the crane, fix the scaffolds, and make molds of thin board by which the masons were to work the beds of the blocks of stone, but as there was no one sufficiently experienced in Ely to take the entire responsibility of such extensive works, a boy was sent to Newport with a letter to one Master Thomas, whose services the monks were anxious to secure. The messenger found him with some trouble, and he went to Ely with his helper.

The Sacrist went immediately to Chikissand with him, and bought, for $9l.$, twenty oak trees, which were felled and brought to Ely.

Rushes were purchased to protect the beds of wrought stone from the weather; nails, pickaxes, ropes, scaffolding, and barges were bought, and everything required by the masons and carpenters was at once provided. The expenses of these preparations were met by the following special subscriptions, in aid of the ordinary funds of the monastery.

"Dona ad novam operationem.

De Domino Priore pro omnibus convocationibus conventus hoc anno, $vjl. xijjs. iiijl.$

De ecclesia de Sutton ad idem, $xxl.$

De ecclesia de Foxton ad idem, $xxl.$

De convocatione infirmariæ ad idem, $cs.$

De precentore ad idem, $cs.$

16 Ed. II.

{ 8 July, 1322. }
{ 7 July, 1323. }

De collecta Eliensis dioceseos per Dominum Episcopum concessa, lxxjs. ob.

De diversis hominibus ex legato in testamento suo ad novam operacionem, xxxjs. viij*℥*.

De diversis hominibus ex curialitatibus datis ad dictam operacionem, xiijs. x*℥*."

The following extract from the Sacrist's roll shows how minutely the records of expenditure were kept.

"In ij securis novis empt' pro cementariis, xv*℥*. In lesca empt' pro columpnis cooperiendis, vij*℥*. In una corda parva empta, v*℥*. ob. In crombis ferreis pro moldis cementariorum, ij*℥*. In j buz platri de Paris empt', v*℥*. In exhennio misso dño officiali, vj*℥*. Dat' magistro Thome carpentario elevanti le fferne ex curialitate, vjs. viij*℥*. Item alio carpentario secum venienti et ipsum auxilianti, ijs. In ij petris pro ferramentis cementariorum acuendis, ijs. x*℥*. In m^viiij de spikinggs pro steyringgs, vs. v*℥*. In vj garbis aceri emptis pro ferramentis cementariorum ponendis, iijs. v*℥*. In vergis emptis pro steyringgs, vjs. viij*℥*. q^a. In bordis emptis pro moldis cementariorum faciendis, x*℥*. In j cribro emend', jd. In duobus pellibus bovinis preparatis ad petras cariandas, iiij*℥*. In circulo empto pro le ferne et diversis vasiis emptis et emendandis ad opus cementariorum, ijs. vi*℥*. ob. In vertinellis eneis fundandis pro le ferne, xviiij*℥*. In xxx cleis empt' pro steyringgs, ijs. ix*℥*. In curialitate data cementariis et operariis per vices, xs. x*℥*. In ferramentis cementariorum Epī emptis, xj*℥*. In oblationibus cementariorum, iiij*℥*. In securibus et ferramentis cementariorum Sacristæ ponendis et acuendis, xijs. x*℥*. ob. Item in securibus et ferramentis cementariorum Epī ponendis et acuendis, ijs. x*℥*. ob. In magnis clavibus ferreis pro rotis eneis pro le fferne, ijs. viij*℥*. In ligaminibus ferreis factis de ferro domini pro eodem, ix*℥*.

Solut' Petro Quadratario pro roba sua, xiijs. Dati fratri ejusdem Petri venienti secum apud Ely ex curialitate vjd. In xx lignis querci empt' apud Chikissand pro novo opere, ixl. In expensis Sacristæ euntis ibidem pro predictis lignis emendis, xjs. xjd. Dati cuidam fratri custodienti silvas ibidem ex curialitate, xld. Item gacioni ejusdem, vjd. Item dati magistro Thomæ carpentario pro expensis suis veniendo et redeundo ibidem, ijs. Item cuidam gacioni querenti dictum magistrum Thomam, viijdl. In expensis carpentariorum excidentium ligna predicta apud Chikissand, xxs. In duobus magnis cablis emptis pro novo opere cum cariagio et portagio eorundem, xviijs. In vj libris de pice pro cementariis, ijs. vdl. q^a. In iij lagenis et diñm olei pro ymaginibus super columpnas depingendis, iijs. vjd. In ij tribulis non ferratis, iijdl. In cirotecis cementariorum, ixdl. In duobus magnis discis pro cementariis, jdl. In emendatione diversorum vasorum pro cementariis, ixdl. Pro gumfis et vertinellis simul cum clavibus de ferro diñm faciendis et operandis ad hostium novi vestiarii, ijs. iijdl. ob. In una pecia ferri operanda pro barris ad dictum hostium, ijd. ob. In viij peciis ferri operandis in Pycosis pro petris frangendis, xxdl. In xxix ponderibus vitri emptis pro novo opere, viijs. vdl. ob, pretium cujuslibet ponderis, iijdl. ob. In via apud le Seggewyk straminanda pro petra carienda, vijdl. ob. In uno correo equino empto pro le Slinggs faciendo ijs. iijdl. In iij ladelis pro cementariis jdl. In ij bokettis emptis pro eisdem iijdl.

“Summa. xviił. vs. viiđ.”

In the following year, that is, in the seventeenth of the reign of Edward II., the Bishop of Norwich sent a gift of twenty marks, by a special messenger, who received from the Sacrist a present of 2s. The cost of Barnak and other stone was £34 8s. 6½d., and the wages and beer of the masons,—“potatione eorundem,

in estate,"—amounted to £60 5s. 5½*d.* The Sacrist spent £4 16s. 4¾*d.* on lime and sand, and there was also a payment of £18 18s. 2¼*d.* incurred for timber, and for the expenses of getting it brought into the cemetery. It will be seen from the following extracts that the timber purchased during the year was bought at Barnwell, Stourbridge, Hilgay and Reach, all markets within twenty miles of Ely.

"In expensis Henrici de Eccles euntis apud Bernewell pro cariagio meremii super videndo xiid. ob. Item in homine per unam septimanam conducto ad mensam domini pro gabla usque chorum emendanda ix*d.* In quodam carro de novo facto pro meremio cariendo vis. xd. In cerevisia empta pro cariagio meremii v*d.* In xxiii arboribus de sapium emptis pro stagynggs xlviii*s.* In cariagio et portagio corundem iv*s.* xj*d.* In meremio empto pro novo opere apud Bernewell x*s.* ix*d.* In unaꝑ parv' bord' empt iij*s.* ij*d.* Inꝑet dimid' Bordis emptis xx*s.* In cariagio meremii empti apud Chykissand de Bernewell usque aqua et de aqua usque Ely et usque ad cimiterium xlvi*s.* Item in le Bosses emendis j*d.* . . . Item in potatione cariantium meremii ad ripam castelli iiij*d.* In stipendio magistri Thomæ carpentarii auxiliantis pro cariagio meremii apud Bernewell et Ely et comorantis ibidem pro rotis de novo levandis ad mensam dñi per iiij sept'. In stipendio cujusdam alterius carpentarii per predictum tempus iiij*s.* In expensis carpentarii euntis ad nundinas de Reche pro meremio emendo ad novum opus vi*d.* ob. . . . Item iiij. arboribus quercineis emptis apud Bernewelle viij*s.* cum cariagio. Item in meremio empto ad nundinas de Steresbrigge iv*l.* ix*s.* . . In xv bordis de Rigold empt' vs. viii*d.* cum cariagio. In ^{xx}_{ciiij} de Hombre bord' empt' de Johanne de Helegeye pro muro juxta posternam cooperiendo xiv*s.* iiij*d.* Pretium centi viij*s.* Item in vi bordis de blok

bord empt' de eodem vij*℥*. . . In cc. de Hembre bord empt' cum cariagio xiijs."

At this date the changes contemplated by Alan and the Bishop must have been in full progress, and some one came from London to confer with the Sacrist respecting the new work:—"Dati cuidam de London ad ordinandum novum opus x*℥*."

The expenses incurred in the 19th year of Edward II. on the new work were £123 5*s*. 6¼*℥*. Contributions came in slowly, and the Sacrist was £36 2*s*. 6½*℥*. in arrear, notwithstanding a payment of £20 from the executors of John and Robert de Lacy.

The usual supplies of stone, sand, lime, iron, and scaffolding, were brought into store, and white glass and colours for staining it were bought. "In diversis coloribus emptis per vices pro vitro colorando v*℥*q." But, besides providing for this unavoidable outlay, the Sacrist, Alan, made up his mind to repair and extend the monastic buildings. Those connected with his own department he is said to have almost rebuilt. "Ipse insuper frater Alanus sacrista multa interim et varia a fundamentis in officio sacristariæ construxit edificia. Nam ex parte boreali juxta villam in longum a cimiterio parochiali ecclesiæ usque ad officium Eleemosinariæ murum erexit lapideum bonum et altum; et alterum a loco ubi incoepit usque ad angulum capellæ S. Mariæ; cingens muris lapideis totum officium sacristariæ. In angulo quoque boreali, juxta cimiterium, cameram lapideam quadratam plumbo tectam construxit. In cujus parte superiori est camera quædam cum mensa quadrata ad calculandum, et ad proventus officio pertinentes recipiendum. Sub qua est duplex camera muro lapideo divisa una pro selda aurifabri, et alia pro quodam parvo celario pro vino officii cum habeatur reponendo. Duas alias domos muris lapideis et tectas tegulis similiter construxit; unam longam diversa

19th Ed. II.
 { 8 July, 1325. }
 { 7 July, 1326. }

Ang. Sacra.
 i. 646.

habentem receptacula pro necessariis officiis diversis et artificiiis cum coquina similiter et pistrino; et aliam domum pro molendino equino, et cum muro interposito pro lardario."

Amongst the entries in his roll for this year are some which evidently refer to the buildings thus enumerated. Lime was got for building the wall in the cemetery, and labourers and masons were then paid for building the "camera lapidea in angulo." "Calce empto pro muro faciendo in cimiterio, xvs., pretium fother, xxd. In stipend' cementar' et operar' ibidem operantium, una cum camera lapidea in angulo de novo edificata, ut patet per parcelas."

There are no Sacrist's rolls existing for the following eight years during which the new campanile was in progress. A Treasurer's roll for the 6th Edward III. has escaped destruction; but it contains no allusion to the architectural engagements of the Sacrist, and the next official record of the progress of the building is for the thirteenth year, which corresponds to the 8th year of Edward III. A small quantity of stone was then bought, viz. 34 feet of "Kynges table," which cost 5s., and a quantity of "sext fother," the price of which was 15s.; but the heavier outlay was on timber and on lead, bought

6th Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1332. }
{ 24 Jan. 1333. }

8th Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1334. }
{ 24 Jan. 1335. }

at Lynn. "Meremium et Bord. In ^ov de Estrich bord' emptis apud Lenne cum cariagio ejusdem lvij^s. iiij^d. pretium, ϕ . . . Item. In xxiiij sparris sapineis emptis apud Lenne xxxs. In cariagio earundem ijs. vjd. Summa iiij^{li}. xs. xd. Clavi. In ^ov de bordnayl empt apud Bernewell vs. xd. pretium, ϕ xiiij^d. Summa vs. xd. Plumbum. In iiij fother et xxij petr' plumbi empt' apud Lenn xj^{li}. vjs. iiij^d., pretium fother lvs. In cariagio, lastagio, portagio et schippagio ijs. ix^d." . . . &c.

The heaviest item of the cost of the new work in this year was £41 19s. 10d. paid to carpenters and

sawyers who were working at the lantern under the superintendence of William de Houk.

Eight carpenters were boarded at the Prior's expense for nine weeks while employed in raising the heavy timbers of the upper story of the new campanile:—
 “Expensæ domus. Mem^m quod viij. carpentarii steterunt in mensa cum famulis dñi per ix sept^a pro exaltatione magnarum postium in novo choro.”

“In cxviij. cleys emptis pro steyringe xvijs. ij℥. : pretium cleye jd. ob., plus in toto xjd. In . . nayle viijs. viij℥., pro qualibet duodenⁱ carian^d a Novo mercato usque Ely ix℥., plus in toto ix℥. In . . . empt' pro steyrings per vices xiiij℥. In j ligamine ferreo fabricando de ferro domini pro le bekerel cum termine . . . et j barre elong' pro magnis postibus exaltandis ix℥. In j serrura empt^a pro hostio in le viz in novo campanile ij℥. In gumfis factis pro eodem iij℥. In curialitate data carpentariis per vices et saratoribus, ut patet per parcelas xxijs. vij℥. Item. Soluti eisdem pro^{*} ex conventionione xiijs.

“Summa lxvs. viij℥.”

The great posts which are mentioned in these extracts from the Sacrist's accounts are no doubt the great angle timbers of the wooden octagon.

During the same year some part of the wooden vault was painted with red and “gold colour:”—

“Nova pictura. In ^{xx}iiij libris rubei plumbi empt' pro volta novi campanilis depingend' una cum xx. libris rubei plumbi pro p. . . xvjs. viij℥. ob., pretium libre ij℥. Item. In xvij libris rubei plumbi empt' pro eodem ijs. ix℥. pretium libræ ij℥. ob. Item. In xx lb de verny empt' pro eodem vs., pretium libræ iij℥. Item. In iij libris de gold colour empt' ad idem ijs. ij℥.

“Summa xxvijs. vij℥.

“Forinseece novi operis. In expensis Willelmi de

* The word may be fialo, or nialo, but it can scarcely be read.

Walsyngham versus Steresbrigge et novam ripam pro meremio ibidem videndo

“In feoda magistri Witti de Houk carpentar’ per añ viij*li*. In stipendiis diversorum carpentar’ et sarrator’, ut patet per parcellas, xli*li*. xix*s*. xd.”

In the next year the Sacrist lost the support of the most liberal promoter of the restoration of the cathedral.

Bishop John de Hotham died at his palace at Somersham on the 15th January, 1336, after an illness which had lasted during two years; and he was buried in the centre of that part of the presbytery which he had erected.

It would be useless to speculate on the effects which this event must have had on the costly works which Alan de Walsingham had undertaken in conjunction with such a friend and so cordial a supporter; but the loss of so munificent a patron must have been, under any circumstances, a great discouragement, and it is hardly possible to suppose that it did not influence and check the Sacrist’s plans.

The three severies of the presbytery which the Bishop lived long enough to complete, possess great interest as specimens of the architecture of the 14th century.

They were begun immediately after the fall of the tower, when the foundations of the lantern piers were laid, for it is known that the masons employed by the two master builders, the Sacrist, and the Bishop, sharpened their picks together, and commenced their labours in the same yard.

Every detail of the design seems to have been carefully considered, and the effect of various alterations studied, as the building rose under the superintendence of its architect; but the most remarkable advances in style are found in the peculiarities which distinguish the north from the south side aisle vaults, and show conclusively that the south side was begun before the north.

Sacrist’s roll,
16th Ed. II.
{ 8 July 1322.
 7 July 1323. }

The south aisle vaults are constructed with transverse and diagonal ribs, as if they were copies of the Early English ones to the east of them, built by Hugh de Northwold; and the only difference between the two examples is that the decorated vaults have ridge ribs, which are omitted in the earlier ones; but in the north aisle rich lierne vaults are used, which introduce an entirely new form of decoration.

There are various irregularities in the masonry of the south aisle which show that the workmen were very uncertain at starting how they were to complete the task assigned to them; but there are no such symptoms of indecision apparent on the opposite side of the building.

The basement piers on the two sides of the presbytery differ as decidedly as the vaults do.

The altitude of each of the three stories is apparently the same as that which existed in the corresponding divisions of the earlier building, and there are fragments of the Norman triforium which seem to have survived the crash of the campanile, and to have been incorporated with the new walls, while the builders were speculating on the final form which their work should assume.

The south-west compartment of the triforium differs from all the others in the treatment of the space below the great circumscribing arch. It was finished before the rest; but the design seems to have been rejected because of its heaviness, and its place was supplied by the light quadruple loop which is used in the five remaining severies. This second pattern was probably suggested by the arrangement of the plate tracery which occupies the tympanum, formed between the soffit of the large arch and the heads of the two smaller ones in the adjoining Early English triforium.

It is well worth attentive examination, for it would be difficult to find a better example of careful masonry in the whole cathedral, and the design is one which

became very popular. It was parodied by Bishop Barnet when he destroyed a portion of the early English triforium, and it has been copied in a great many of the churches in the neighbourhood of Ely.

Plans of the two patterns of the side aisle vaults are given in Plate 4, and by comparing the sections of the Decorated arch-molds and jambs which are engraved in Plates 7 & 8, the gradual changes introduced by the masons may be understood more readily than from any verbal description.

Upon the death of Bishop John de Hotham, the monks exerted themselves to obtain the see for their Prior, John of Crawden, or Croyden, who had taken an active part in carrying out the great additions to both church and priory, which had been commenced at the close of the reign of Edward the Second. The Prior apparently coveted the preferment, and made a journey to London in order to obtain the royal license to proceed with a new election, which would have been very favourable to his interests if the decision had been left to the monks at Ely:—"Item. In expensis domini apud London pro licencia petenda a domino rege eligendi episcopum, xlv^s."

The first visit led to no satisfactory result, and in the same year the Prior went a second time:—"Item. In expensis domini apud London ad tractandum cum domino episcopo et archidiacon' pro salvatione jurisdictione sue, ls."

These visits to the court were probably suggested more by policy than actual business, and the monks hoped that a favourable answer would be made to their application; but the King, Edward the Third, privately consulted the Pope, and the vacancy was bestowed on Simon de Montacute, who was translated from Worcester to Ely:—"Et sic electio de fratre Johanne de Craudene per capitulum concorditer facta, per provisionem Papalem fuerat frustrata."

The appointment made by the King was not a bad one, as far as the prosecution of the new work was concerned, for it will be shown farther on that the new Bishop was a liberal supporter of the extensive alterations which he found already commenced.

The regnal year after the late Bishop's death, the fifteenth of the new work, was devoted to the construction of the timber vault of the lower part of the lantern.

The "summa summarum novi operis" rose to £104 10s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., and large purchases of oak trees were made at the fairs of Reach and Stourbridge:—

"Ferrum et clavi. In j sem' ferri empt' apud Lenn de Radulpho de Swanton xxiijs. In portagio et cariagio ejusdem iiij*d*. In viij^m ix^c clavi empti in Ely de quodam de Derbi xxs. xj*d*. pretium millenæ ijs. iiij*d*., plus in toto ij*d*. Item. In ij^c xxviiij de grossis spikiings emptis apud Reche xd. Summa xlvjs. j*d*.

Sacrist's roll,
10th Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1336. }
{ 24 Jan. 1337 }

"Meremium empt'. In lxx magñ ligñ querciñ empt' apud Steresbrigge xiiij*l*. vjs. viij*d*. In cariagio earundem usque ad aquam xxijs. Item. In cariagio usque Ely per aquam xxxs. viij*d*.

"In vij^{xx} iiij stodis quercin' emptis apud Reche. . ."

The great vault which springs from the eight piers of the lantern must have been very nearly completed before the close of the year, since the same fabric roll which has supplied these extracts, contains an account of the way in which it was coloured.

A painter, named Nicolas, was hired for three weeks, to whitewash the timber and prepare it for decoration of a higher kind. "Molds" were made of parchment and canvas for the painter's use, and a supply of vermillion, verdigris, whitelead and oil, was placed at his disposal.

The molds were evidently stencils with patterns cut in them, which were fixed against the vault surfaces

while the colours were daubed on. The chief decorator was William Schank, and he made an agreement to gild the bosses and capitals, as well as to paint the vault, for a fee of £10.

The materials were found by the Sacrist, who employed Ralph, "le gold beter," to make gold-leaf out of the Prior's florins.

One long cord was bought for the use of the painter. "In j corda longa empta pro le chapital' deaurandis et columpnis depingendis viij*d*." William Schank was probably let down at the end of it, just as foreign workmen now-a-days swing themselves about by a stout rope when engaged in similar operations.

Schank's work must have been limited to the wooden vault of the lower story of the lantern, where the traces of his rude daubing are tolerably distinct. The stone lierne vault built by John de Hotham, never was coloured entirely. The bosses were gilded and the ribs painted, but only for one or two feet from their junction with the keys of the vault.

During this year, marble steps were laid down at the shrine of Etheldreda:—"Item. Dati cubanti gradus marmoreos ante fferetrum s̄ce Etheldr' vi*d*."

The same parchment which supplies this evidence of the particular stage to which the new building had been advanced, contains also an account of a dispute which arose between Alan de Walsingham and John de Hotham's executors, with respect to a sum of money which the Sacrist claimed from the Bishop's representatives.

Whatever the amount of the demand may have been, payment was refused, and the two parties went to law:—"Item. Soluti dicto magistro Willelmo pro expensis suis et labore suo circa citationem huñdā sub sigillo dñi Archiep̄i ad citand', executores ep̄i nuper defuncti xiij*s*. iij*d*."

Sacrist's roll,
10th Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1336. }
{ 24 Jan. 1337. }

This citation proved to be of little use, and after a delay of three years, further proceedings were instituted, which seem to have been effective, as the subject disappears from the Sacrist's accounts :—

“Expensis factis pro negociis versus executores.

“Solut' magistro Galfrido de Hundene pro negociis versus executores testamenti domini Johannis de Hotham nuper episcopi Elyensis, exequendis xij*s*. iij*d*. Item. Solut' eidem alia vice pro predictis negociis xx*s*. Item. Eidem alia vice v*s*. viij*d*. Item. Dat' garcioni ejusdem defferenti literas domino per duas vices ij*s*. vj*d*. Item. Dat' Roberti Goes pro expensis suis versus Tyd et alibi pro executoribus citandis et defferenti unam literam certicatori magistro Galfrido de Hundene apud London ij*s*. vj*d*. Item. Dat' officiali Archidiaconi ex curialitate domini predictis negociis et aliis diversis negociis officialem tangentibus v*s*. viij*d*. Item. dat' magistro Ricardo de Kaltoft iij*s*. iij*d*. Item. Roberto juniore clerico xij*d*. Item. Garcioni dicti officialis vj*d*.

“Summa lv*s*. vj*d*.”

The cause of the lawsuit to which these entries have reference is unknown, but it may have originated in connection with extra works, which the Sacrist was obliged to undertake, during the year in which the second citation was made. An old wooden bridge which carried a road from the Soham fens across the river, at a spot called “ad ripam castri,” had been so shaken by the heavy loads of stone and timber dragged over it during the erection of the new campanile, that it was almost swept away by a heavy flood, which happened during the same period. As the structure was so thoroughly rotten that it was not worth mending, the monks determined to build a stone bridge in its place, and the work was begun without any unnecessary delay.

The necessity for this outlay had been probably foreseen some years beforehand, and had also been sanc-

Sacrist's roll,
13th Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1339.
{ 24 Jan. 1340. }

Ang. Sac. i.
644.

tioned by the advice and contributions of Bishop John de Hotham, who is said to have given £5 5s. 6*d.* towards the construction of a new bridge at Castelhythe, a site which is supposed to have been identical with that which was known in Ely as “ad ripam castri.”

Ang. Sac. i.
644.
13th Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1339.
{ 24 Jan. 1340. }

As the actual payment of this subscription was not made till the 13th year of the reign of Edward III., some time after the Bishop's death, when the quarrel between Alan de Walsingham and his representatives was evidently at its height, it is not improbable that the money was left as a bequest, which the Bishop's executors thought it right to dispute.

During the fourteen years which elapsed between the fall of the Norman central tower, and the death of John de Hotham, the three Decorated severies of the presbytery had been built, and the greater part of the wooden lantern fixed.

The church must have been nearly, if not entirely, roofed in, or the new marble steps would not have been laid down before the shrine of Etheldreda; but the wooden bell-chamber of the new structure was not finished for four years after the Bishop's death.

The great angle posts were, it is true, got into their places in the thirteenth year of the work, because they were essential parts of the actual structure; but as soon as they were raised, it would seem that the carpenters turned their attention to the decorative constructions behind which the mechanical construction of the building was concealed.

The expenses of painting and gilding the wooden vault, from which the upper story appears to spring, are heavy items in the fabric rolls of the fifteenth year, and they probably were repeated in the bills for the sixteenth and seventeenth; but for these two years no records exist.

The Sacrist's accounts for the eighteenth year of the

new work, which may be treated as synonymous with the thirteenth of the reign of Edward III., are more complete than usual, and they possess peculiar interest, because they give the date of the completion of the upper story of the lantern, as far as it ever was completed.

The whole outlay, during these twelve months, amounted to £98 18s. 6d., but more than half of this sum was paid in wages. The expenditure on materials decreased, as the payments for skilled labour increased. Two classes of workmen were employed on the small vault, which is actually the floor of the bell-chamber, which completes the upper story, the turners who shaped the bosses into their general form, and the carvers who worked out the ultimate decoration:—"Soluti uni tornatori pro boces ad voltas superioris istoriæ torrandis vs. ix*d.*" . . . Item. Soluti Johanni Rok pro j clav' talliand' ad voltam superiorem xvij*d.*

The carving on the principal, or central key, of this vault was a special job, entrusted to a carver who came from Burwell, near Newmarket:—"Item. Soluti Johanni de Burwell pro una imagine tallianda super le principale keye volte superioris ijs., et ad mensam dñi."

The upper story was glazed in this same year by William of Brampton, who supplied all the necessary materials:—

"Custus vitri. In xxj panellis albi vitri empt' de Willo de Brampton vitrario, xxxviijs. vj*d.*; pretium pannel', xxij*d.* Item. Soluti pro j forma vitri empta de eodem in grosso, xxiijs. Item. In ij sem' albi vitri empt' per dominum pro stauero, xiijs. vj*d.* Item. Soluti dc̃o Willo vitrario pro predictis panellis et aliis supponendis in formulis superioris istoriæ per viij seps, ex conventione vj*d.* viij*d.* capienti per sept' x*d.* Item. Dati ad dicto Willelmo vitrario ad suum discessum ex curialitate domini, iijs. iiij*d.*"

The formulæ mentioned in the above extract are the

13th Ed. III.
 { 25 Jan. 1339. }
 { 24 Jan. 1340. }

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R. Willis, pp.
49, 53, 58.

small tracery openings of the windows of the upper story, in which "panells" of glass were placed.

The glazier's work of the 14th century was kept in its position by bars of iron let into the stone or wood-work, and described under various names, many of which are still in use, to some extent. For example:—

"Item. Soluti Johanni Amyot pro stapel barr' fabricand' de ^{xx}iiij peciis ferri dñi xxs. iij*℥*. pro pec' iij*℥*. Item. In lx barris reparandis per eundem xvij*℥*. Item. In sowdeles faciendis per eundem de vj peciis ferri dñi xvij*℥*. capiens pro pecia iij*℥*. . . . Item. In crainpounz factis pro novo opere cementariorum de iij peciis ferri dñi ix*℥*. . . . In diversis sowdelez factis per Robertum Fowke, per vices, pro fenestris superioris istori' novi operis de lxxvij pec' ferri dñi xixs. iij*℥*. capientem pro pecia iij*℥*. . . . Item. In viij crosbarris factis per predictum Robertum pro les Oes superioris istoriæ de xxiiij peciis ferri dñi vijs. capientem pro pecia iij*℥*. ob."

The "Oes" for which the eight cross-bars were made, were either the round windows, which are still in each face of the stone octagon, and still fitted with cross-bars, or more probably those of which traces remain in the wooden lantern above it. Many of the windows were closed with canvas, which was bought at Lynn:—

"In xlv ulnis canvasii empt' apud Lenn pro fenestris novi campanilis."

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Nomenclature
of the Middle
Ages.
R. Willis, pp.
25, 28.

The stone purchased during the year is described under the technical terms of "hascler," "dowbles," "leggemenz," "sextfoth," and "petra de mold," and must have been used in the lower story, or stone octagon, which was still in progress under the directions of John Attegrene, the master mason.

In this same year Walter, the painter, was employed on the new work for 42 weeks. "Custus novæ picturæ. In xxxj lagenis dñs olei empt' de quodam homine de Wychem pro colore temperando xxjs. pretium lagene

viiij[℥]℥. In xiiij[℥] de Selverfoile empt' per vices de Radulpho le goldbeter, et de aliis apud London, ut patet per parcellas vjs. ix[℥]℥., pretium centum vj[℥]℥. Item. In viij[℥] de Goldfyn empt' de eodem per vices ut patet per parcellas xxxijs., pretium centum iiij[℥]s. Item. In xij[℥] de goldparti empt' de eodem xxxvis. pretium centum iij[℥]s. In j libra de orpiment empt' vj[℥]℥. In iij qrt de vermeloun empt' de Thoma le Hende xj[℥]℥. Item. In iiij buss de strowes empt' pro cole inde faciend' xviiij[℥]℥. In xij libris dñi albi plumbi empt' apud Cantebr' ijs. viij[℥]℥. In vj lib. de Vermil' empt' de Roberto de Boking vs., pretium libræ x[℥]℥. In cynopro empt' xvj[℥]℥. In xl libris de blannk plumbi empt' de Wiffo de Elingham apud Lenn vs. viij[℥]℥., pretium libræ j[℥]℥. ob qd. In stipendio Walteri pictoris pro xlij septimanis quia stetit cum dña de Clare per x seps' xxviij[℥]s., capientis per sepm viij[℥]℥., preter mensam et robam."

It is evident, from the character of this expenditure, that the erection of the new building was vigorously pressed on during this year, and that the structure was far advanced towards completion.

The new stall work for the choir was begun in 1338, according to the Lambeth copy of the chronicle which has been referred to in page 89, and in the Sacrist's roll, of the 13th Edward III., there is notice of a payment of 13s. 4[℥]. on account of it :—"Soluti ad fabricam stal-lorum hoc anno pro 0 et olla sacriste xiijs. iiij[℥]℥." 12 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1338. }
{ 24 Jan. 1339. }

There are earlier notices of money spent in fitting up the choir; as, for instance, in the ninth year of the same king's reign :—

"Expensæ necessariæ. Liberati ad novam fabricam chori pro tribus convocationibus Prioris cs." But this entry perhaps refers only to some temporary seats required for special arrangements before the permanent fittings were begun. Treasurer's roll,
9 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1335. }
{ 24 Jan. 1336. }

There are no records of the progress of the building in the 19th year of the new work, but for the 20th year, which corresponds generally to the 15th of Edward III., the roll of N. de Copmanford, the Sacrist, remains, and it contains a great deal of interesting matter.

It supplies the expenditure during what is commonly called the last year of the erection of the lantern. The church was at that date covered in, and the heaviest part of the masonry completed, but the woodwork of the choir, and a good deal of the stonework of the new campanile, was unfinished.

The choir was protected from birds by a net:—"In uno rete empto pro columbellis excludendis a choro, viijs. iiij*l*.;" and mats were bought for the choir altar.

It may be inferred, from one or two entries in the accounts for this year, that the monks had just completed a tomb over the grave of John de Hotham. It is described as one of the most striking features in the church; but unfortunately, by reason of the modern passion for removing cathedral choirs from their original position, this memorial of the Bishop has been banished from the site which the monks assigned to it, and robbed of all the decorations for which at one time it was remarkable.

The only representation of it which exists, is that given in Bentham's history of the church, but this engraving was not executed till the tomb had lost much of its attractiveness through wanton injury and neglect.

The tomb is represented in this drawing as connected with, and partly under, a heavy structure of stone, which had at that time an unmeaning wooden ornament on the top of it, and an inscription at one end. The inscription is said by Mr. Bentham to have been written in the time of Queen Elizabeth or James I., "with a

wrong date of his (the Bishop's) death, and mentioning part of his munificence to the church, but falsely ascribing to him the building of the dome and lantern."

Both the tomb and its covering are drawn as if they were built into a wall at one end, or, at any rate, as if they were substantially united to some ruined masonry; but Mr. Bentham gives no explanation of this particular fact, and merely describes the tomb as defaced.

As it is known, however, from the chronicle of the Priory, that the Bishop was buried on the east side of the choir altar, and as the site and arrangements of the altar itself are tolerably well known, it may be possible to offer an interpretation of these remains.

The circumstance which led the Bishop to point out the spot in which he desired to be buried, has been already mentioned (p. 86), and the monks seem to have been scrupulous in carrying out a wish expressed with so much earnestness:—"Sepultus est in ecclesia sua cathedrali apud Ely et honorifice collocatus ad partem orientalem altaris in choro versus magnum altare, sub quadam pulchra structura lapidea cum imagine Episcopi de alabastro super tumulum ipsius erecta cum vii candelabris ex uno stipite decentissime procedentibus; et circa siquidem imagines de creatione hominis et ejectione ejusdem de Paradiso, quatuor etiam imagines regum armatorum et iv dracones ad iv partes ejusdem structuræ." The burial-place was evidently between the high altar and the choir altar, and a partial confirmation of this fact is found in the Sacrist's accounts of expenses connected with the funeral:—"In centen' clavorum empt' pro perclus' faciend' juxta chorum die sepulture dñi epi iiij*l*. . . . In stipend' facientis cera per vices xxiiij*l*. et. . . . de cera quia Sacrista recepit^e iiij*l* cera de hersid' de Hothm epi defuncti."

Ang. Sac. i.
648.

Sacrist's roll,
10th Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1336. }
{ 24 Jan. 1337. }

The hearse used at the funeral was no doubt con-

structed over the body within some enclosure, "juxta chorum," as described in the preceding extract.

From the plans of the church, which are given in Steven's Monasticon, and the Survey by Browne Willis, it is well known that the stalls of Alan de Walsingham's choir extended, in the usual manner, across the transept, from the stone screen at the east end of the nave, to the most eastern pair of lantern piers, which are lettered *A* and *B* in the plan on Plate 3.

The whole space used as the choir, however, extended farther to the east, so as to occupy the western severy of the presbytery, and was bounded by a cross wall, against which the choir altar was placed.

This wall stood between two of the piers of John de Hotham's work, and was connected with two other walls which were carried westward as far as the lantern piers, *A* and *B*, so as to shut off the presbytery side aisles from the platform of the choir altar.

The dotted lines in the plan, Plate 3, No. 7, show the relative positions these walls once occupied.

The north and south walls were probably nothing more than the basement of the parclose of the choir altar, a structure of wood and iron which is mentioned in the Sacrist's roll for the 15th year of the reign of Edward III., which may be called the 20th year of the new work.

One of the entries given in the following extracts, although not easily interpreted, proves that workmen were then also employed on the tomb of the late Bishop:—

Sacrist's roll,
15 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1341. }
{ 24 Jan. 1342. }

"Item. In factura iiij vectium et ij gumph' pro le parclos juxta altare in choro de ferro dñi, *vñ*. In factur' viij vertinellorum viij gumph' fact' de xij peciis ferri dñi pro novis hostiis del parclos in choro, *iijs*. In factura xliiij lbs. ferri Ispanie pro cruce ad le parclos, *xxijñ*. per lib. ob. In ydemptitat' et barr' supra tumbam

dñi Johanne de Otham eþi, vijð. . . . In le turning xxx bases pro columpnis in le parclos, ijs. . . . ltem. In factura iiij staplis ij gojouns et ij platys cum le tinning pro hostia del parclos," &c.

The east wall of this enclosure was probably higher than the adjoining north and south ones; it was pierced with two doorways, and on its east side stood the Bishop's tomb, as represented in Steven's plan.

The tomb and choir altar stood, in fact, back to back in the middle of the Decorated presbytery, separated by the cross screen wall of the original choir.

The altar and its furniture were cleared away soon after the surrender of the monastery. The two pairs of organs which belonged to it, the "four great laten candlesticks, which once stood before the base altar," and the altar fronts of green and blue bawdkyn, were seized by the Royal commissioners and left in custody of their agent, Mr. Robert Wells; but it is evident, from Mr. Bentham's letter to the Dean of Exeter, that the enclosure itself was left, more or less, undisturbed till the 18th century, when it was destroyed by Mr. Essex, and the stalls were moved to the east end of the cathedral.

Addenda, p. 23.

On the north wall of the old choir there were original paintings of "Bishops in their habits of ceremony," and under them were seven cells, each twenty-two inches in length, seven broad, and eighteen deep, which had been made for the reception of some bones, which were said to be those of Archbishop Wlstan, five bishops of Anglo-Saxon sees, and Duke Brithnoth, who was slain at the battle of Maldon, A.D. 991. These relics were not disturbed till May 18th, 1769, "when it became necessary, on account of removing the choir to the east end of the church, to take down that wall."

Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, vol. 1, clvi.

If the side walls were left undisturbed by the King's commission, as they evidently were, it is not likely that

the eastern one was wholly destroyed, although it may have been thought necessary to deface all that was connected with it which savoured of the old monastic system, and hence it becomes very probable that the fragments of masonry attached to the tomb in the drawing engraved for Mr. Bentham's book, represent the remains of the old cross wall of the choir built by Alan de Walsingham.

This suggestion does not explain all those particulars respecting the tomb and burial-place of the Bishop which it would be interesting to know, but, at any rate, it shows the general trustworthiness of Steven's plan.

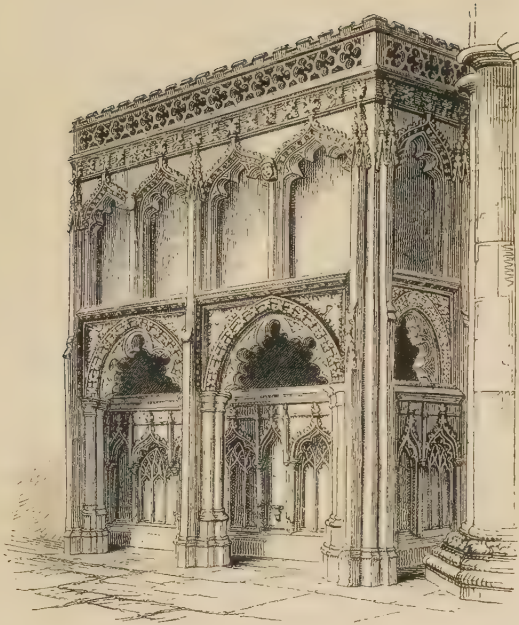
One of the documents preserved in the Lambeth library contains a statement respecting John de Hotham's grave, which seems, at first sight, to be at variance with those which have been quoted.

The passage is as follows :—"Sepultus est in ecclesia Eliensi versus orientem juxta feretrum S. Etheldredæ : jacet ad pedes S. Etheldredæ."

The choir altar in this account is not mentioned at all. The site of the shrine, however, is pretty well established, and it will be shown a few pages farther on, that it was close to the high altar which stood between the tombs of Bishop Redman and Bishop William de Luda. It was not unusual to enclose the relics of saints in altars which were constructed of stone, and it is quite possible that the body of Etheldreda was so disposed, in reference to the high altar at Ely, that the expression "juxta feretrum," means very much the same as the "versus magnum altare," which is read in the fullest and most valuable of the chronicles.

The condition to which the tomb was finally reduced under Mr. Essex, is represented in Plate 19.

Within the last few years, these relics of the past have been subjected to elaborate repairs, and again used to fill up the spaces between piers.



THE FRAGMENTS OF A TOMB, SAID TO BE THAT OF BISHOP JOHN DE HOTHAM,
as they were arranged by Mr. Essex, in the North Aisle of the Presbytery.

The greatest expenses of the 20th year of the new work were incurred in preparations for casting new bells, and in erecting, on the north side of the nave of the cathedral, the parish church of S. Cross, which the monks were compelled to build by a decree of the Archbishop's commissary, John de Binton, dated so far back as the year 1315. A complaint was made at a visitation, that the monks' choir and the parish altar in the cathedral were so close together, that the services performed at them interrupted each other. The monks were therefore required to provide a church where the parish services could be performed without interruption, and twenty years after the munition was issued they complied with it. The church was consecrated by Bishop Langham, and its removal in the 16th century has been already noticed, page 42.

Baker MSS.,
vol. 38, Cam-
bridge Univer-
sity Library.

The series of the Sacrist's accounts is incomplete for a period of three years, and the roll which comes next in order refers to the 24th year of the "Novum opus," under Robert de Aylsham.

19 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1345. }
{ 24 Jan. 1346. }

The stall-work of the choir was at that time still unfinished, and money was spent in glazing the upper story of the new campanile, and purchasing iron-work: "pro summitate," as far as the phrase is legible.

The stone which was purchased consisted of "Forme pecys," "Kynges tables," "Crestes," and "parpent asssheler," all technical terms which require some explanation.

It has been conjectured by Professor Willis that these entries refer to part of the stone octagon, the upper courses of which "consist of a parapet, or brattishing, of open tracery-work, surmounted by a bold crest of leaves, connected by inverted arches and foliation. 'Forme pecys,' I shall show below," he continues, "to be the stones that constitute tracery; and the other items, 'crestes' and 'parpent asssheler,' plainly belong to

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p. 36.

a work of this kind. Beneath the parapet, instead of a corbel table, there is a deep hollow, occupied by running leaves, and having small ball flowers at intervals. The form and arrangement so nearly resemble the ornament beneath the seat of the royal throne, in the great seals of Henry III., and the first two Edwards, that I conjecture that it derived the name of king's table from this imitation."

The new work was evidently coming to a close, as the heaviest outlay on the part of the Sacrist was for casting four new bells for the great campanile.

In the reign of Edward II., new clappers were made for two bells, called Bannse and Peter, which were hanging in the west tower:—"Fabro pro factura j clapir ad magnam campanam quæ vocatur Bannse, vjd. . . . In emendacione cujusdam clapir campanæ quæ vocatur Peter, vjd."

Sacrist's roll,
16 Ed. II.
{ 8 July 1322. }
{ 7 July 1323. }

In 1341-2, these old bells were again repaired, especially the great one, called Bannse, with new "stirops," "bondes," "clapurs," and staples. Four years later four stirops were made for a new bell, and Master John of Gloucester was paid cxvjs. viij*d.*, "pro factura iiij. campanarum;" but in Robert de Aylsham's roll the "Custus magnarum campanarum" appears at full length.

In this year four bells were cast by the above-named bellfounder, and called Jesus, John, Mary, and Walsyngham. They weighed respectively 3,792 lbs., 2,704 lbs., 2,180 lbs., and 6,280 lbs., the last and heaviest being the gift of the then Prior, whose name it bore. They were placed in the west tower, or campanile, and as the head carpenter, Roger, was paid for hanging six bells there, it is very likely that the old ones, Peter and Bannse, were used to complete the peal.

The original record of the founding of the new bells is very complete:—

“Custus magnarum campanarum de novo factarum cum metallo empto pro eisdem.

Sacrist's roll,
19 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1345.
 24 Jan. 1346. }

“In argill empt' apud Lenn ijs. ij*℥*. In expensis magistri Johannis de Gloucestria eund' versus Lenn pro dicta terra eligend' vs. In cariagio ejusdem per aquam usque Ely x*℥*. In argill empt' apud Erythe cum cariagio usque Ely per vices vijs. vij*℥*. In virgis empt' pro fornace facienda per vices xv*℥*. Liberati Cok versus Lenne per ij vices pro copro et stagno elligendis vs. Dati garcionibus predicti magistri Johannis pro ipsa querenda apud Northamtone et alibi per diversas vices ijs. In Pakkezerd et ov' empt' per vices x*℥*. In Dcccxlvi libris stagni empt' pro dictis campanis vj*℥*. xix*℥*. pretium centum xvs. minus in toto iijs. ob. Item in cccxix libris stagni empt' pro eisdem xxxjs. viij*℥*.

pretium centum xiijs. In mD copr' empt' pro dictis campanis xj*℥*. vs. pretium centum xvs. In Dccxj libris copr' empt' pro eisdem iiij*℥*. vjs. vij*℥*. pretium centum xiijs. In cccxij libris copr' empt' pro eisdem lvijs. vj*℥*. pretium centum xiijs. In Dclxv libris copr' Alb empt' pro eisdem iiij*℥*. viijs. pretium centum xvjs. unde de Avantagio ponderis ix libris copr'. In cervisia empt' die quo fuderunt metallum magni campani preter staurum iijs. vij*℥*. In fform. pro iiij campanis faciendis et fusione iiij campanarum de metallo predicto ponderante, videlicet campana vocata Ihs ^{1 1 1}mmm ^{xx}Dcc ^{1 1}iiixij libr'. Et campana vocata Johannis ^{1 1}mm Dcc. iiij. libr'. Et

campana vocata Maria ^{1 1}mmciiij ^{xx}libr', xviiij*℥*. xviiij*℥*. pro qualibet libra ob, minus in toto ijs. ij*℥*. et non plus quia Prior solvit pro fusione iiij^{ss} campanæ vocatæ Wal-syngham ponderantis videlicet ¹vjmcciiij ^{xx}libr'. In pol' pro dicta campana pendente et trendel pro eisdem ponder' et aliis rebus gravibus sursum tractandis ponderantis ~~ccc~~xlvi. libr' xvs. ij*℥*. ob, pro libra, ob. Pro

Argill fodiend̃ pro fornace et moldis faciendis in parte ijs. iij*℥*. In carbonibus emptis pro fusione eorundem vijs. viij*℥*. In dictis carbonibus querendis apud Thorney et cariandis usque Ely ijs. In secoll empt' pro eisdem iijs. In factura ferramenti pro vj campanis in magn' campanile pendentibus de ferro domini de stauro superius empt' xxxiijs. iij*℥*. In vj claperys de novo factis de ferro domini de stauro ut superius, et pro fabricatione eorundem cum vij hominibus per iiij septimanas iiij*℥*. xvs. iij*℥*. Scilicet pro qualibet libra lib ad ignem vs. Soluti Rogero carpentario pro dictis vj. campanis pendendis lxs. proprio tamen cum garcione et equo ejus ad mensam domini. In vj cordis emptis pro dictis vj campanis xvjs. viij*℥*. Dati garcionibus predictorum magistri Johannis et Rogeri in recessu eorum ix*℥*. vj*℥*. In c libris ferri empt' ijs. vj*℥*. In stape*ℓ* et haspis de eodem factis ijs. vj*℥*. In ij coreis equinis empt' pro Banderykk inde factis pro dictis campanis vjs. viij*℥*. In factura eorundem x*℥*. In filo empto iiij*℥*. ob. In soles empt' pro dictis Banderykk iiij*℥*. In dī centum de Kedis empt' apud Thorneye pro focali ijs. In cariagio eorundem usque Ely ijs.

Summa lxiiij*℥*. viijs. ijd."'

The great weight of these six bells involved extensive changes in the west tower, and considerable expenses were incurred in paying the sawyers, carpenters, and labourers, who were employed on its belfry:—"Vadia et stipendia sarratorum conduct' per vices et a*l* carpent' . . . operantium . . . et pro polm*̄* et berfrey in magno campanile pro novis campanis pendendis et forciandis ac pro summitate ejusdem campanilis refaciend', xv*℥*. xvjd." It is very probable that the insertion of the wooden ties, which are still to be seen in one of the galleries of the tower, took place at this time under Robert de Aylsham's superintendence.

It has been already pointed out, in page 61, that the

Sacrist's roll,
19 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1345.
 24 Jan 1346. }

earliest known record of special repairs carried on in this tower is found in a roll dated in the reign of Edward IV., and that for years afterwards the works at this end of the church were an annual charge upon the Priory. It is very likely that the threatening symptoms of insecurity which then alarmed the monks were the natural result of weighting the old walls with these four new bells and their furniture.

The belfry of the new campanile, or lantern, is constantly distinguished from that which occupied part of the great campanile, or west tower, and it had an entirely distinct set of bells, equal in number, if not in weight, to those which hung in the west tower.

In the 31st Edward III., new ropes were bought for the bells in each of these places:—"In xij cordis emptis pro campanis in utroque campanile, xxxiiij*s*." In the 11th Richard II., money was paid for hanging bells, "super chorum," as well as for repairs of machinery in "le olde stepil," and again, in the 17th Edward IV., we find the following entry in a Sacrist's roll:—"In j clapyr ad quartam campanam in lanterna emend', et faciend' xvjd'." Still later, in the 1st year of Henry VIII., "In denariis solutis pro quatuor cordis pro campanis in lucerna (lanterna) et aliis necessariis, *vs.* ij*d*," and at the dissolution of the monastery there were "six bells great and small in the lanthorne," besides the same number "in the great steeple."

So late as 1669, the Chapter accounts show a charge made for the removal of bells from the lantern; and in the survey made by Mr. Essex, directions are given for taking away the old "bell fraims," which were doing mischief to the decayed wood-work of the belfry built by Alan de Walsyngham.

For six years after the date of the bell-casting, the local documents have been lost, with the exception of a damaged roll for the 23rd Edward III., in which there

31 Ed. III.

{ 25 Jan. 1357.
24 Jan. 1358. }

11 Rich. II.

{ 22 June 1387.
21 June 1388. }

17 Ed. IV.

{ 4 Mar. 1477.
3 Mar. 1478. }

1 Hen. VIII.

{ 22 Apr. 1509.
21 Apr. 1510. }

23 Ed. III.

{ 25 Jan. 1349.
24 Jan. 1350. }

are the usual entries relating to the purchase of boards and nails, and one which shows that the glazier, Seman, was mending the new windows :—" Item. Soluti Seman vitrario pro emendandis fenestris novi campanilis et emend' . . . faciei regis Ædgari."

The Sacrist's roll of Adam de Lynstede, and his "socius," or assistant, Robert, for the thirty-first year of the new work, the 26th Edward III., is in good preservation, and supplies the information that the new campanile was then covered with lead :—"Dati plumbario pro cooperatione novi campanilis super eorum ex conventione xli. preter ij robas iij buss' frumenti et j qr brasei." At the same time, David, another plumber, was paid two shillings for coming from Leicester to see what had been done :—" Item. Dati David plumbario venienti de Leycester ad videndum novum campanile, ijs." The purchases of stone made during the year were for the parish church, which was still unfinished.

In the Sacrist's accounts for the 33rd year, or 28th Edward III., it is stated that workmen were employed, "circa prostrationem veteris campanilis," as if some portion of Richard's tower was even then left; something which had not interfered with carrying up the lantern work. The entries become annually briefer, but the Sacrist's parchment for the thirty-sixth year of the new building period, that is, the 31st Edward III., is an interesting one, as it gives the date of the insertion of two new windows on the north side of the presbytery, near a spot called "Ad tria altaria," where the chapels of S. John, S. Martin, and S. Benedict stood for many years. From an entry in a Sacrist's roll, dated in the 16th year of the reign of Edward II., when the Norman tower had just fallen, it is known that a particular part of the earlier church was then distinguished by this name :—"Pro calicibus ad tria altaria emend, viij*l*." These altars are alluded to in the

26 Ed. III.

{ 25 Jan. 1352. }
{ 24 Jan. 1353. }

28 Ed. III.

{ 25 Jan. 1354. }
{ 24 Jan. 1355. }

31 Ed. III.

{ 25 Jan. 1357. }
{ 24 Jan. 1358. }

16 Ed. II.

{ 8 July 1322. }
{ 7 July 1323. }

following entry from the Sacrist's roll for 1st Hen. VII. 1 Hen. VII.
{ 22 Aug. 1485. }
 { 21 Aug. 1486. }
 "In uno barello olei empto pro lampade S̄ci Benedicti
 ad tria altaria vjs. viij*℥*." And in another, dated a few 3 Hen. VII.
{ 22 Aug. 1487. }
 { 21 Aug. 1488. }
 years later, "Cere et lichnum. . . . In oleo empto pro
 lampes ardentibus ad tria altaria per fratrem Johannem
 Ely viij*℥*."

Carpenters were employed "super novum super-
 cilium contra tria altaria" in the year 1345-6, and
 their work probably remained untouched for twelve
 years, till 1357, when men were paid for working at
 different times "ad prostrationem veteris meremii ad
 tria altaria et pro novo meremio levando." The posi-
 tion of these three altars was probably never changed,
 and the history of the windows inserted near them is
 contained in the following extract:—"Custus novi
 operis. Petra et calx empt'. In lxvij petris empt'
 pro ij fenestris ad tria altaria versus boream faciendis
 lxij*ss*s. iiij*℥*. In ^{xx}iiij pedibus monialium emptis xxvjs.
 viij*℥*., per pede, iiij*℥*. In lvj pedibus de oggifs emptis
 xvjs. iiij*℥*., pro pede iiij*℥*. ob. In ij lapidibus vocatis
 Keyes emptis ijs. In xxij ffoiyther calci combusti
 empt' ad diversa pretia lxxjs. ij*℥*. Summa ix*℥*i. vjd.

"Plumbum, vitrum et stannum. In ^{xx}v petris
 plumbi' empt' lxxjs. viij*℥*. Pretium petræ viij*℥*. In
^{xx}iiijxv lbs. stanni empt' xxij*ss*s. ix*℥*. per lb. iiij*℥*. In iiij
 seem albi vitri empt' xlvjs. In xij peys vitri diversi
 coloris empt' xjs. In geet et lymail empt' ad vitrum
 ijs. iiij*℥*. Solut' Willelmo Terry pro ij fenestris vitreis
 de novo faciendis de materia domini ad tria altaria
 versus boream iiij*℥*i. xvs. Summa xij*℥*i. vjs. viij*℥*.

"Vadia et stipendia. In vadiis Johannis Attegrene
 cementarii per ann. xij*ss*s. iiij*℥*. preter robam et mensam.
 In vadiis Thomæ Euemech cementarii ad mensam pro-
 priam per xv septimanas xlijs. per septimanam ijs.
 minus in toto pro diebus festis ijs. Item. Soluti eidem

Thomæ operanti formam unius fenestræ ex conventione in grosso xls. preter iiij buss frumenti et iiij buss pisæ de stauro, &c." . . .

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Nomenclature
of the Middle
Ages, R. Willis,
p. 48.

The form of a window is the old term for its tracery, which was generally worked by masons of a superior class.

Upon examination of the north aisle of the presbytery, it will be found that the two windows in question are the fourth and fifth from the transept wall, and they are probably the very first of the insertions which have usurped the places of all the original lancet windows of Hugh de Northwold's presbytery.

Nearly all the windows in these side-aisles are examples of the freedom with which the Ely masons appropriated the designs of their predecessors; for the tracery with which each window-head is filled, has been copied without disguise from that which they found in one of the windows built by Bishop John de Hotham. The patterns show no originality, and differ from each other only by minute variations in the molds, or in the treatment of the scot and arch.

In the Decorated presbytery, there are five windows, of which the heads are filled with massive tracery. Three patterns were used; one for the western severies, a second and lighter one for the next pair of windows, and a third variety, which appears in the window-head over the entrance to the Lady Chapel. In the first and third examples, the mullion molding differs from that employed in the tracery, and dies against, or interpenetrates it.

The third pattern was evidently the popular one, and it was accordingly copied first in the windows "ad tria altaria," and then by Bishop Gray in the windows which he built near his tomb, which stood at the east end of the north aisle, between two of the piers.

In the scoinsons of Gray's windows are shields, with the Bishop's arms :—Gules, a lion rampant argent, within a bordure engrailed of the same; but the year of their insertion is not precisely known. Mr. Millers, no doubt, states that they were built "about 1460," about eighteen years before Gray's death, but does not refer to any documentary evidence which places the point beyond dispute. He mentions also the insertion of "two more windows" in this north aisle, "and several on the south side," in the year 1573, but does not specify their exact position. The only two windows in the north aisle whose history is unknown, are those in the eastern severy, occupied by Bishop Alcock's chapel; but they are, like Gray's, and like those in the opposite aisle of the presbytery, merely copies of the popular pattern which was reproduced in the windows "ad tria altaria."

Description of
the Cathedral
Church of Ely,
3 Ed. p. 87.

Sections of the arch-molds of the windows built by Bishop Gray, and of those inserted "ad tria altaria," are given in Plate 8.

The statement of the expenses incurred in building these two windows is the last entry of any importance which can be identified with the works begun under Alan de Walsingham's direction.

The Sacrist's roll for the 33rd Edward III. is rich in technical terms connected with building, but the expenditure was chiefly on account of the parish church, which was being roofed and glazed. There was an outlay of £46 18s. 8d. on lead and glass, and of £21 1s. 2d. on stone and lime, including major and minor "fourme peces," "fourme pecez mayores," "skewes," "gargules," "monials," "corbel tables," "sextefoyth," "vousores," and "chaumbraunes."

33 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1359. }
{ 24 Jan. 1360. }

The same document has a "custus dormitorii, et apud le blakerod." The site of the black rood is not known, but it is evident, from the following extracts,

that it was an important and highly decorated structure :— "Item. Solut' eidem pro ij keyes factis pro ij Aunglis juxta le blake rode iij^s. iiij^d. . . . In stipend' Roberti Burwell facientis Garguyles et ymagines pro sources ad le blake rode per viij septim' xxvj^s. viij^d. per septim' iij^s. iiij^d. ad mensam propriam. . . . Soluti Johanni peyntour depingenti de novo circa le blake rode vj ymagines apud le gablez lxxvj^s. viij^d. ex conventione."

The only mention of the new campanile is for nets "pro columbellis excludendis."

42 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1368. }
{ 24 Jan. 1369. }

In the 42nd year of the same king's reign, the monks laid out £41 19s. in replenishing their mason's yard with crestes, vovsores, cunes, noweles, fillingston, and a large quantity of sext fother. They were also glazing windows :—"Soluti pro factura de iiij barres vocat' tiraunt barres ponderant' ccc lb. ferri xs." The technical terms applied to the stone show that it must have been used in the vaults and upper part of some building, but there is nothing in the Sacrist's return which determines whether the masons were working at the lantern, the parish church, or at both. A net was got for the Galilee, and the "claper" of "Baunz" was mended, but these are facts which have no special connection with the lantern.

48 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1374. }
{ 24 Jan. 1375. }

The roll for the 45th year of Edward's reign has very little to interest an inquirer into the history of the church, and in the 48th year all the building operations came to an end. The usual entry :—"Custus novi operis," was written on the parchment, when it was prepared for the year's accounts, in the Sacrist's office ; but John of Ely, the Sacrist, had no use for it, and struck his pen through the heading.

It is evident from the local documents which have been so largely quoted, that the various additions made to the church and monastery, in consequence of the

fall of the original Norman campanile, occupied the monks for half a century.

The stone-work of the octagon never was finished, and there are unfortunately neither drawings nor records which determine the exact condition in which the builders left the wooden structure which rises from it.

The only representation which deserves to be noticed is that given by Browne Willis, and reprinted by Bentham in his *History*; but its value is very much diminished in consequence of the drawing having been made when it is only too probable that Alan de Walsingham's work had been half ruined by long-continued neglect.

The roof of the bell-chamber is known to have been, from the first, protected with lead; but otherwise the timber was intentionally left freely exposed to the weather. The upper story was, in fact, intended to be a wooden octagon, springing from a stone one.

Slight repairs of the windows or roofs of the whole structure are mentioned in records, dated respectively in the seventeenth year of Henry the Sixth's reign, the eighteenth of Edward the Fourth's, the third of Henry the Seventh's, and the first of Henry the Eighth's; but it is certain, from the smallness of the outlay which they required, that these were works of no importance, and the history of the central campanile disappears from the records of the Church, till comparatively recent times, when it was surveyed and repaired by Mr. Essex. At that time half the main timbers of the structure were rotten, the windows, frames, and tracery, were so much decayed that they were beyond restoration, and the unsoundness of the whole fabric was concealed by sheets of lead, which had been nailed on, without any judgment, to hide the insecurity which ought to have been remedied by thorough repairs.

The dangerous state of the fabric is pointed out with

great clearness in the report which Mr. Essex presented to the Dean and Chapter.

“The prodigious quantity of timber and lead of which it is composed, was at first supported by sixteen pieces of timber only, of which number seven or eight are now rotten and unfit for supports, so that the whole weight is now unequally supported by those that remain sound. The cause of this decay is owing to the neglect of the gutters and the lead-work over the lantern chamber, and other parts of the lantern, which has either been improperly repaired or quite neglected for several years past, and instead of lessening the weight as much as possible when the supporters became weakened by time, I find that many hundreds of lead have been added to patch and hide what might have been otherwise repaired at less expense, so that much of the work is now covered with lead that was never intended to be so. From this ill-management, not only the timbers before-mentioned, but many others of consequence, are in a bad condition. The windows in general are so bad and loaded with lead that it is impossible to repair them. The roof over the lantern chamber is so bad that hardly any water can get off of it, and the kerb on which it rests is so decayed that the whole roof should be taken up and laid with a proper declivity to carry off the water. There are likewise two of the turrets that want rebuilding, one of them particularly is unsafe, having very little hold, may be blown down.”

The mischief thus described was confined, with some exceptions, to the roof of the lantern chamber and the timbers which carried the whole upper, or wooden octagon. The wooden vault which covers the great octagon formed by the intersection of the nave and east transept is nothing more than an artifice to conceal the strictly mechanical construction adopted by Alan de

Walsingham. Its ribs and boarding had suffered but little, though the more important timbers to which it was attached, and which supported the weight of the roof above it, were ruined and worthless.

In executing repairs absolutely essential to the safety of the building, Mr. Essex showed great professional skill, and unusual respect for the workmanship of an earlier period.

He took all possible pains to save every fragment of the old timber that could be kept in its original place, and can fairly claim the credit of having carried out his work in a purely conservative spirit.

The original design or pattern of the tracery of the windows in the wooden octagon, has been irrevocably lost, but with this exception the strictly Decorative construction of this part of the church remains very much as it left the hands of the carpenters who put it together.

The massive timbers which now form the angle-posts of the wooden lantern, are no doubt the identical ones hauled into their places by William de Houk and his men, in the year 1334, and the vault which carries the belfry, is that which John of Burwell completed in 1339-40.

The great octagon, which is the feature peculiar to the Cathedral of Ely, looks bare and heavy in its modern condition, and particularly if compared with the coeval work of John de Hotham, on its east face, or with the adjoining Lady Chapel; but it must have produced a very different effect when the original arrangements of its builders were undisturbed, and its plain piers were almost hidden by the rich wood-work of the stalls.

The eight vault piers, at about the middle of their length, are developed into Tabernacles, which are all but identical in design with those built by Prior John

de Croydon, above the two low side windows of his private chapel.

The sculptures at their bases represent the events in the life of Etheldreda, which have been already mentioned, pages 8, 9.

The woodcut in Plate 14 has been made from a drawing of the pier, on which the death and burial of the lady Abbess are represented.

The hood-molds of the panels, below the four lofty windows which occupy the short sides of the octagon, are finished with well-carved heads, which Mr. Millers supposed to be portraits. Those on the north-east are said to be intended for Edward the Third and his Queen, Philippa.

“On the south-east arch are the heads of a Bishop and a priest; perhaps meant for Bishop Hotham and Prior Crauden. Opposite to this, on the north-west arch, are the heads of another priest, apparently younger, and of some secular person in long hair. Who would not be glad that the former was a resemblance of the admirable architect himself? One would not be so curious about the remaining one, nor altogether unwilling to suppose it the head of the master mason.”

Millers' Ely
Cath., 3rd Ed.,
p. 66.

It is impossible to say how long the four shrines of the foundress and her successors remained in the relative positions in which it is assumed they were placed, when the whole building was dedicated, in the presence of Henry III., to S. Mary, S. Peter, and S. Etheldreda, on the 15th September, 1252.

In the 14th century the shrine of Etheldreda appears to have been very near the high altar, the position of which is known from the descriptions given of the burial-places of Bishop Redman, and Bishop William de Luda, or Louth.

The beautiful canopy raised over the tomb of the



THE LANTERN.

Tabernacle work of the Lantern Piers.

latter Bishop, although it has been cruelly disfigured, has never been removed from its original site, and thus enables us to point out, not only the place occupied by the high altar, but also the entrance to the original Lady Chapel, which was placed in the south aisle of the presbytery. The words of the chronicle are as follows:—
 “Sepultus est in parte australi ecclesiæ inter duas columnas juxta magnum altare ad introitum veteris capellæ B. Mariæ.”

Ang. Sac. i.
639.

Bishop Redman was buried between the two corresponding piers on the opposite side of the presbytery, and although the chapel, or parclose, enclosing his tomb was dismantled by the Royal commissioners on the surrender of the monastery, the tomb itself was not moved:—“Ricardus Redman (sepultus est) inter duas columnas prope summum altare versus boreal.”

Ang. Sac. i.
675.

These tombs are numbered 12 and 13 in the general plan, Plate 3, and the high altar was, of course, between them. That the shrine was close to the high altar may be also inferred from the conventional decorations of the bosses used in the vault above the tombs, and from one of the descriptions of the burial-place of John de Hotham, which has been discussed in page 113.

Although Etheldreda's shrine retained its central position, it is certain that some of the others had been moved in the 15th century. When Bishop Gray was buried, the shrine of Eormenilda was at the north-east angle of the building, close to the shrine of S. Alban, at the corner of a chapel which Bishop Alcock built for himself at the east end of the north aisle. This fact is settled by the very precise description of Gray's burial-place which is given in the Ely chronicle:—“Sepultus est inter duas columnas marmoreas ex boreali parte ecclesiæ per feretra S. Albani et S. Ermenildæ,” or, as another document expresses it, “ad corneram capellæ, Johannis Alcok.”

Ang. Sac. i.
673.

Lambeth MSS.

Bishop Gray's tomb was partly standing between the two presbytery piers next to Bishop Alcock's chapel, when Mr. Bentham wrote his History of the Cathedral, and the remains of it are represented in Plate 20 of that work. The stone canopy was destroyed when the stalls were transferred to the presbytery, and the only trace of the tomb which remains is a bit of paper pasted, or glued, to one of the marble shafts of the south-eastern presbytery pier. This fragment is part of an early example of block-printing, and represents a lion rampant argent in a field gules, the arms of the Bishop. It was found in its present place a few years ago, behind the wood-work with which Mr. Essex fitted up the presbytery.

The same statement respecting Eormenilda's shrine occurs in the notice of Bishop Alcock's burial-place, which is found in the history of the Priory. "*Corpus sepultum est in capella quam ipse faciebat juxta tumulum S. Ermenildæ.*"

Ang. Sac. i.
675.

It is just possible that Bishop Gray's tomb stood between her shrine and that of S. Alban; the one in the middle aisle, the other in the north side-aisle of the presbytery; and this conjecture is slightly supported by an entry in a Sacrist's roll relating to the repair of a window near S. Alban's altar. "*Et eidem pro reparatione fenestræ ad altare scti Albani xijd.*"

3 Hen. VII.
{ 22 Aug. 1487. }
{ 21 Aug. 1488. }

Matt. Paris
Vita Alfrici
undecimi
abbatis ecclesiæ
S. Albani.

It may be worth while to remark that, according to Matthew Paris, none of the real remains of S. Alban ever reached the Isle of Ely.

It is not improbable that the removal of Eormenilda's shrine was only one item in some fresh arrangement which was adopted during Gray's episcopate, as there is preserved amongst the Lambeth documents an account of a new "*coopertorium*" made for Etheldreda's feretory in the year 1455.

"*Expensæ et custus circa coopertorium feretri*

Sanctæ Etheldredæ factæ per fratrem Johannem Soham baccalaurium in jure canonico, anno Domini mcccclv.

“In expensis ejusdem Johannis euntis et navigantis ad Welles et Wysbech pro carpentario et graver, ijs.iiij*℥*. Item pro fabrica ejusdem coopertorii, vj marc. Item pro labore Roberti Pygot peyntour’ de Bury et Henrici, xij*℥*. Item eisdem pro pictura etc xij marc cum mensa. Item Henrico de Hostilar’ equitanti ad Bury pro Pygot, xxij*℥*. Item pro xj ulnis panni lignei ad pendendum intus coopertorii, vj. Item pro ccc clavis deauratis, vij*℥*. Item pro platis cuppis etc xij*℥*. Item Pyrton pro ropis, vs. iiij*℥*. Item T. Glaswryche, xij*℥*. Item Roberto Loker, Johanni Dowenham, et aliis pro rewmays (?) ijs.j*℥*. Item Katerinæ ffysche pro mensa Johannis Pygot et aliorum, xxvs. iiij*℥*.

“Summa xxj*℥*. xxxiiij*℥*.”

The chapel of Bishop Alcock, the founder of Jesus College, Cambridge, was built by himself at the east end of the north aisle of the presbytery, and has fortunately escaped the fate which has overtaken so many of the memorials of benefactors which once stood in the church. The stone fixed in the east wall, with the inscription, “Johannis Alcock, Episcopus Elien’ hanc fabricam fieri fecit 1488;”—the date, probably, when he began the chapel,—was, as Mr. Bentham states, found “on opening a grave at a distance from this chapel.”

Bentham’s
History of the
Cathedral
Church of Ely,
2nd Ed. p. 183.
Angl. Sac. i.
675.

The chapel of Bishop West, which occupies the east compartment of the south aisle of the presbytery, has been more disturbed than Alcock’s. The bones of the Bishops, which were originally preserved in the north wall of Alan de Walsyngham’s choir, have been placed upon the ledger of the tomb, and the chapel was used for the interment of Bishop Sparke. The gates are the only specimen of old iron-work, of any importance, left in the church.

L. E. ii. 87.

Archbishop Wlstan, whose bones are said to be amongst those thus preserved, was buried at Ely, according to his own request, in a spot which he selected when visiting the Abbot. He died on June 27th, 1023, and his grave was left undisturbed till Abbot Richard's extensions of the Norman church were being carried on, when it was necessary to remove his coffin in order to make way for the foundations of the new walls.

L. E. ii. 87.

The monks found that his body was entirely decayed, but the archiepiscopal robes in which he had been buried, his stole and maniple and the pallium, with the gilded spinulæ which were used to affix it, were in perfect preservation: — "*Casulam et pallium auratis spinulis afixum cum stola et manipula invenerunt.*" The coffin was buried for safety outside the church in the monks' cemetery:—"Extra ecclesiam juxta cancellum in cimiterio fratrum interim fuit collocatus," and there it seems to have been left till Nigel became Bishop, A.D. 1133 to A.D. 1169, when Prior Alexander collected the bones in an appropriate chest and placed them in the church with other similar relics.

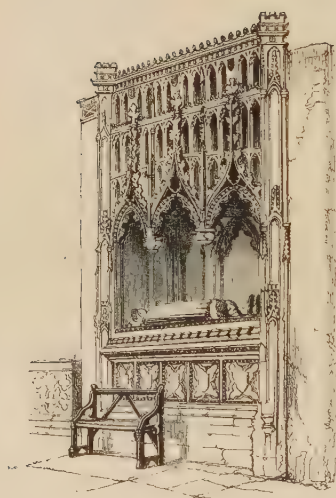
They were next moved to the north wall of Alan de Walsingham's choir, and finally found their way to their present resting-place.

One of the spinulæ mentioned in the above extract from the *Liber Eliensis* is now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.

History of the
Cathedral
Church of Ely.
Addenda, p. 23.

It was probably found by Mr. Bentham in 1769, when the old choir walls were destroyed, and the bones of Wlstan were examined, although the fact is not mentioned in the letter addressed to the Dean of Exeter "concerning discoveries in Ely Minster," which he read at the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 6, 1772.

The spinula was exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on June 19th, 1777, along with



A TOMB, SAID TO BE THAT OF A LORD TIPTOFT.

six bullæ (Innocent III. to Boniface VIII.), which had been found about two feet under ground on removing the earth outside S. Mary's chapel.

The altar of relics stood in the middle aisle, near West's chapel, *i. e.*, near the tomb of Louis de Luxembourg, upon which the chapel intrudes.

The old chapel of the Virgin, in the south aisle, became in later times the chapel of a Lord Tiptoft. A tomb, which is said to be his, is represented in Plate 20, as it stands between two of the presbytery piers.

“Et quod unus alius monachus presbiter sic ut prius assignandus celebret pro animabus domini Johannis Typtot, et Jocosæ ac Philippæ uxorum suarum, ad altare antiquæ capellæ beatæ Mariæ, in ecclesia cathedrali Eliense, qui etiam capiet de priore de Spyney, qui pro tempore fuerit, singulis annis in perpetuum, vijs. iiij*d.* per annum.”

There are portions of the tombs of Hugh de Northwolde, Barnet, and others, still preserved at Ely, but so mutilated that very little interest is attached to them. Most of the gravestones have been moved from their original positions, like the more costly structures which once marked the resting-places of the greatest benefactors to the Priory, and many have disappeared altogether.

In the Lambeth collection of MSS. there are two accounts of the burial-places of the Bishops of Ely, which were incorporated by Wharton in the *Historia Eliensis* printed in the *Anglia Sacra*. They are combined in the following list:—

Herveius episcopus sepultus est in ecclesia	
(magna) Elien'	1131
Nigellus in ecclesia juxta altare sancte crucis	1169
Galfridus Ridel obiit Winton intestatus, et in	
Ely sepultus est in ecclesia magna	1189
Will de longo campo sepultus est in Abacia de	

Harl. MSS.,
3721.

Lambeth MSS.

Pin . . . quondam cisterciens' ordinis, cor vero ejus reconditur juxta altare sancti martini (id est ad tria altaria)	1197
Eustachius prope altare sancte Marie (in capella veteri)	1215
Johannes de Fontibus versus altare sancti Andree, ad pedes Johannis Croudin, tectus duobus lapidibus marmoreis	1225
Galfridus de Burgo in parte boreali chori	1228
Hugo de Norwude versus orientem, juxta feretrum s̄c̄e Etheldrede, (jacet ad pedes s̄c̄e Etheldrede, cor jacet juxta boias (P)	1254
Will de Kirkenny sepultus in Hispania, sed cor ejus in majori ecclesia, juxta altare s̄c̄i Andree	1256
Hugo de Balsham in majore ecclesia coram magno altare, sed cor ejus juxta altare s̄c̄i Maritane in ecclesia sepeliebatur	1286
Johannes de Kirkby coram cruce (magna) ex parte boreali chori, ante altare s̄c̄i Johannis	1290
Willelmus de Luda ex parte australi ecclesie, inter duas columpnas juxta altare magnum, ad introitum veteris capelle beate Mariæ	1298
Rad : de Walpole coram summo altare, in pavimento	1302
Rob : Orford coram magno altare, in pavimento juxta Rad : de Walpole	1310
Johannes de Ketin coram summo altare, in pavimento in ordine vicis ad partem borealem	1316
Johannes de Hothum ad partem orientalem altaris in choro	1336
Simon de Monte Acuto in nova capella Marie, coram altare	1345
Thomas de Lylde in Avinono ultra mare	1361
Simon de Langham translatus ad Arch : Cant.	1376
Johannes Barnet	1373
Thomas Arundell translatus ad Arch : Cant.	1414

Johannes Fordam in nova capella marie	.	1425
Philippas Morgan	. . .	1435
Ludovicus Lushborne in Hispania	. .	1443
Thomas Bowcer	. . .	1486
Willemus Gray ad corneram capelle Johannis		
Alcok	. . .	1478
Johannes Mortem translatus ad Arch : Cant.	.	1500
Johannes Alcock in capella, quam ipse fecit	.	1500
Richard Redman inter duas columpnas prope		
sumum altare versus boreal'	. .	1505
Jacobus Stanley apud Manchester	.	1515
Nicholas West in capella quam ipse fecit	.	1533
Thomas Goodrick aute sumum altare juxta		
Joh' Craudene	. . .	1554
Thomas Thirleby apud Lambethe	.	1570
Ricardus Coxe	. . .	1581
Altare sancti Petri fuit in choro. Magnum altare ex		
opposito (tumuli ?) Johannis (A bino ?).		

CHAPTER VI.

THE HISTORY OF THE LADY CHAPEL.

Ang. Sac. i.
651.

THE first stone of the Lady Chapel was laid, as has been already remarked, by Alan de Walsingham, on the feast of the Assumption, A.D. 1321. The building was commenced when the see was held by John de Hotham, continued throughout the episcopate of Bishop Montacute, and finished in the time of Bishop de L'Isle, A.D. 1349, when Alan de Walsingham had become Prior.

In the Sacrist's accounts no mention is made of the progress of the work, which was directed by one of the monks, John of Wisbech, who had the entire charge of the erection of the new chapel for 28 years and 13 weeks.

Ang. Sac. i.
651.

The outlay necessary for wages and materials was borne in a great measure by the convent; but the fabric fund was increased by large donations from Bishop Montacute, who would no doubt have finished the structure if his life had been spared:—"Ipse enim circa fabricam novæ capellæ S. Mariæ ex parte boreali suæ cathedralis ecclesiæ inceptam multas et largas tradidit expensas, et tota mentis intentione ad finem perfectum illam ducere desideravit. Sed, quod vehementer dolendum est, morte preventus fabricam predictam secundum suum propositum consummare non potuit. Immo cuidam simplici monacho Elyensi, fratri Johanne de Wysbech, qui Christi fidelium eleemosinis dictam capellam a fundamentis inœpit, prout Deus secum disposuit, perficiendam reliquit. Qui quidem frater Johannes in honore semper virginis Mariæ in Festo

Annunciationis suæ fabricam dictæ capellæ incepit anno Domini mcccxi incipiente. Cujus fabricæ lapidem primum posuit vir venerabilis et artificiosus frater Alanus de Walsyngham tunc temporis supprior Elyensis."

In the beginning of the work, the monk was sadly puzzled how to get money to pay the wages of the workmen whose labour he required; but his difficulties were removed by a most fortunate discovery of treasure. He persuaded several of his secular brethren to give their aid in digging the trenches in which the foundations of the chapel were to be laid, and while they were all busily employed, he struck his spade upon a brazen pot, full of old coins, buried in the earth.

As he was digging by himself, at some distance from his companions, it was not difficult to conceal the discovery from them; and at night, when all had withdrawn from their self-imposed task, John carried off the pot of money, and hid it under his bed:—

"In inceptione namque dictæ capellæ dictus frater Johannes modicum habuit pecuniæ in manibus, vel in thesauris, in tanti operis prosecutionem. . . . Contigit autem eum quadam vice quosdam socios suos, monachos, quosdam etiam seculares convocare; illosque subnixè rogare, ut una secum ad fodiendum locum per quadratum, ubi totius fabricæ foret fundamentum, in certa hora inter eos constituta pariter convenirent ipsumque adjuvarent. Adveniente denique tempore designato, nocte quadam venerunt, et fodere cœperunt; singuli separatim, unusquisque in loco sibi assignato. Contigit autem predictum fratrem Johannem secundum sortem suam in loco certo per se solum fodere, et volenti, ut creditur, Deo, suis ignorantibus sociis cunctis, urnam eneam pecunia plenam quasi ex industria ibidem depositam, ad relevandam pro tempore suam indigentiam, per se solum invenire. Et transacta fere tota nocte,

Ang. Sac. i.
651.

in ipso diluculo minutissime cepit pluere et fodientes aliquantulum tædere. Et convocans socios suos laborantes dixit, eia, fratres mei et consortes laboris, multum vobis regracior, quod jamdiu bene laborastis, et bonum est nunc modicum pausare post laborem. Ideo commendo vos Deo, qui vobis condignam rependat pro labore mercedem. Illis vero recedentibus, solus ipse remansit in loco, et urnam illam prout potuit secretius tulit, et in dormitorio subter lectum suum reposuit, et pecuniam de illa rubigine denigratam sumpsit, et rubiginem ab illa confricando calce et aqua deterisit, et stipendia operariorum ex illa, dum duraverit persolvit."

The monk who made this opportune discovery, John of Wisbech, died of the plague on the 18th June, 1349:—"Et cum . . . per annos xxviii et septimanas xiii opus predictum sollicitudine maxima continuasset, et structuram lapideam cum imaginibus infra capellam et extra, numero cxlvii, preter minutas imagines in tabula supra altare, et preter imagines ad hostium introitus in capella, opus etiam ligneum plumbo tectum, et agabulum orientale cum duabus fenestris ex utraque parte capellæ ferro et vitro pulcherrime apparatis consummasset, anno Domini mcccclix, xvi calend. Julii tempore communis pestilentie, ex hac luce migravit."

Ang. Sac. i.
652.

Bishop Montacute's successor, Thomas de Lyld, or L'Isle, Prior of the Dominicans at Winchester, was appointed to the see by the Pope, in opposition to the monks, who, having obtained a licence to elect a Bishop, had recommended their Prior, Alan de Walsingham. Bishop de L'Isle is not mentioned amongst the benefactors to the Lady Chapel; but this is not surprising to those who are acquainted with the history of his episcopate, and the extravagance of his personal habits.

Prior John de Crauden, on the other hand, was a contributor to the building fund, but the amount of his

benefaction is not stated :—" Dictus eciam frater J. de Crauden tempore supradicto expendit in exhennii missis domino Regi et le despenser seniori et in denariis

The Prior's roll.
19 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1345. }
{ 24 Jan. 1346. }

datis ad fabricam novæ capellæ Beatæ Mariæ, ^{xx}iii*½*."

The great east window of the chapel and the reredos in the east wall are both insertions, of which the history is pretty well known, and they are almost the only interferences with the original design which the building has had to submit to.

The window is the work of the same Bishop Barnet, who destroyed during his episcopate five compartments of the triforium of the Early English presbytery. The changes he made in the work of Hugh de Northwold are recorded in the usual way :—" Ipse fecit fieri tres fenestras in presbiterio ex parte australi ecclesiæ et duas ex parte aquilonali;" but his expenditure on the Lady Chapel is only mentioned in the private accounts of the officers of the Priory.

Ang. Sac. i.
664.

In the Sacrist's roll for the year, which corresponds to the 48th Edward III., there is an acknowledgment of money paid by the executors of Bishop Barnet towards building the east window in this chapel :—" De receptis de executoribus domini Johannis Barnet nuper episcopi Eliensis ad facturam cujusdam fenestræ in capella beatæ Mariæ juxta magnum altare factæ in anno precedente ^{xx}iii*½*." The roll for the preceding year does not exist, but in that of the 45th Edward III. there is a "custus novi operis," which may be connected with this insertion. The style of the tracery, and indeed of the whole design, is later than that of the side windows, which are no doubt the original ones built under the superintendence of John of Wisbech.

48 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1374. }
{ 24 Jan. 1375. }

The tracery of these lofty side windows has crumbled away externally almost to the glass groove, for it was unfortunately worked in clunch, or Burwell stone, which perishes rapidly when exposed to rain and frost.

Bishop Barnet's window, and indeed the east front of the chapel, are the subject of Plate 15.

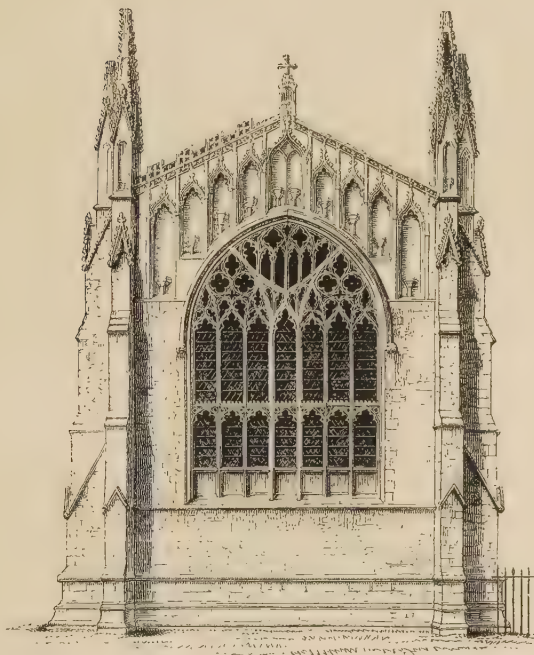
Below this window are the remains of a reredos, which was probably erected in the 13th Richard II. Amongst the Ely documents is a fragment of a roll written in the thirteenth year of some king, whose name is torn off. The handwriting is a good specimen of the style common in the time of Edward III., or Richard II., and, as the Sacrist's roll for the 13th Edward III. remains in good preservation, it may be conjectured that the fragment belongs to the later reign of Richard II. This parchment is in a state of ruin, but contains a summary of the money spent during four years in building a reredos of Burwell stone, under the superintendence of "Master Robert of Wodehirst:"—"Item. In feodo magistri Roberti de Wodehirst, magistri predicti operis per ann. iiij*li*. preter mensam et robam ex conventione xxxiiij*li*. xvs. v*d*." . . . In j poole cont' xxiiij ped' ad magistrum Rob' ad mensurandum opus suum iiij*d*."

Bishop Fordham, who then occupied the see, and was afterwards buried in the chapel, was a contributor to the expenses, and the Sacrist made a special journey to London to consult him and other friends on the subject:—"In expensis Sacristæ euntis apud London ad colloquium habendum cum domino episcopo Eliensi et aliis amicis pro expediendo dictum opus cvjs. vj*d*."

The sum paid for masons' wages in the first year was £33 15*s*. 5*d*.; in the second it amounted to £40 11*s*. 7*d*.; in the third, to £21 0*s*. 9*d*.; and in the fourth, to £5 17*s*. The annual fee paid to Robert of Woodhirst is included in these charges.

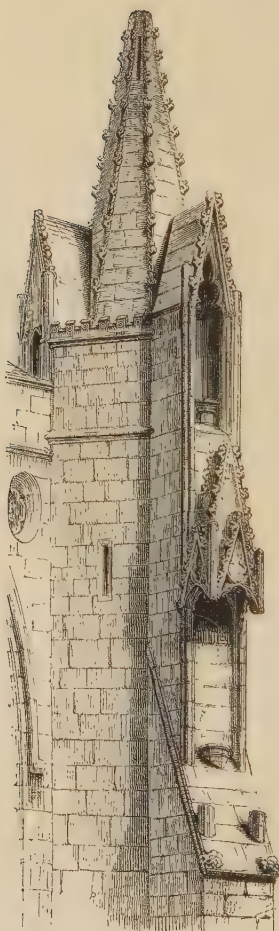
It is evident from indications supplied by the masonry of the middle pair of mullions, which are of unusual solidity, that the reredos and east window were originally combined with some structure, or decoration con-

13 Ric. II.
{ 22 June 1389. }
{ 21 June 1390. }



THE LADY CHAPEL.

Bishop Barnet's Window. East End. A.D. 1373-4.



THE LADY CHAPEL.

Tabernacles of the Buttresses. A.D. 1321—1349.

nected with the altar, which stood on a solid platform extending across the chapel, and considerably raised above the general level of the floor. A large figure of the Virgin, which is often mentioned in the rolls of the chapel-keeper, probably occupied a prominent position at the east end of the building, and obstructed the middle light from the sill to the transom.

When the building was completed according to the design of its architect, and its proportions were not interfered with, as they are at present by the introduction of pews, it must have been the grandest specimen of mediæval architecture of which Ely could ever boast, a perfect storehouse of statuary and elaborate tabernacle work. Every pedestal carried the figure of some saint, or Bishop, and the little surface of the wall which could be seen was covered with diapering, executed in the most brilliant colours, or carved in the stone itself. In fact, the whole building was covered with conventional figures of roses, lilies, and crosses, painted in prominent colours on a ground of whitewash.

There are two kinds of tabernacles used in the different stages of the great external angle buttresses, and they are well represented in the woodcuts in Plates 15 and 17. They are good examples of the peculiarities of Ely masonry, and it is worth while to observe how closely they resemble in their general plan the tabernacles built by Hugh de Northwold in similar positions in the east front of his presbytery.

Both are square in plan, and both occupy the whole breadth of the buttress; but while the top one is merely recessed in the body of the buttress, the lower one is open on three sides, and has, or rather had, when first constructed, small piers at the front angles, rising from the slope of the set-off of the buttress, and carrying the projecting crocketed canopy, under which a figure was placed.

The niches, with ogee crocketed hood-molds, which occupy the space left between the west window-sill and the ground, outside the chapel, are formed entirely in the thickness of the wall, and in their present condition look rather plain and shallow ; but the defect is more apparent than real, and would disappear at once if they were filled with the statues for which they were intended.

The backs of these niches were once painted, but constant exposure to the weather has nearly obliterated the traces of the patterns employed, which were tolerably distinct, here and there, even in recent times.

This end of the building is the subject of Plate 16.

Inside the chapel a low bench table runs along all the four walls, and carries a series of niches and compound canopies, upon which every possible decoration has been unsparingly bestowed.

The piers of the main and subordinate canopies rise alternately from the bench and the floor, just as similar members of the arcades of the west porch are arranged, and the probability is, that the architect of the Lady Chapel studied the various additions made to the cathedral by his predecessors, and purposely adopted in his own work all that was considered excellent in their designs.

The arcade, which is built into the north wall, consists of nineteen tabernacles, separated by square piers of Purbeck marble. Fifteen of them are distributed into five sets of three each, which occupy the wall below the sills of the five windows, and the remaining four fill up the intermediate spaces between the five groups.

Each of the fifteen tabernacles is finished with a massive canopy bowed forward in the shape of an ogee, in front of a straight crocketed hood-mold, placed flat against the wall, and each contains two niches, with their tops cut into regular vaults.



LADY CHAPEL.

Tabernacle Work. Outside. West End. A.D. 1321—1349.



THE LADY CHAPEL.

Compound Canopies of the Tabernacles, lowest or ground range.

A.D. 1321—1349.

As the four remaining members of this ground range are wider than the rest, and carry two other ranges of niches which form the piers between the adjacent window openings, and rise as high as the springing of the vault, the design is varied. The straight hood-mold is left out, and although the same form of canopy is used, its apex terminates in a group of three elaborately carved corbels, which form the pedestals of the middle range of tabernacles.

The peculiarities which distinguish the larger canopies are very well shown in Plate 18, and it is not easy to find any examples of old masonry in which the decoration is more elaborate, and the execution more finished and masterly.

The spandrels are filled up with well-cut diapers and alto-relievos, which are supposed to represent occurrences in the legendary history of the Virgin Mary; and the diaper work was once entirely covered with gold-leaf and brilliant colours.

On the south side, the arcade is interrupted by two doorways. The western once opened into a covered way, which was the main communication with the presbytery, and the eastern gave access to a private gallery between the altar and the cathedral, which has disappeared. A fragment of the well-worn pavement of the covered passage has been laid down in the south-east transept, and its door-arch in the north side-aisle of the presbytery has been lately brought to light by the removal of the monument of Dean Cæsar, which had blocked it up for many years, and perhaps preserved it.

The doorway, like the chapel to which it once led, had its jambs filled with statues, which have been of course carried off.

The masonry has been very much knocked about; but there are, in the great flanking piers, examples of enriched decorated tabernacles, finished with unusual

delicacy and skill. There are the remains of a figure over the door-arch, which is probably alluded to in the following entry in the Sacrist's roll for the 1st Henry VII. "*In oblacionibus ad ymaginem beatæ Mariæ super hostium ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de Ely.*"

A description
of the Cathedral
Church of Ely
by G. Millers,
3rd edit.,
p. 101.

The timber roof, which now protects the vault, is a modern one, constructed in the year 1762.

The space between the roof and vault is lighted with circular openings, or "*oes*;" but the tracery which they once possessed was worked in clunch, and is almost destroyed by exposure to the weather.

Bishop Montacute was buried before the altar of the chapel which he helped to raise, but there is not a fragment of his tomb left, and not a trace of the spot which it occupied could be found when the flooring of the old pews was removed in 1806.

"*XX. die mensis Junii anno Domini mcccxliv. obiit, et sepultus est apud Ely in nova capella S. Mariæ coram altari ejusdem capellæ, circa cujus fabricam sumptuosas fecit expensas.*"

Ang. Sac. i.
652.

Eighty years later, Bishop Fordham's remains were brought from the palace at Downham, and deposited in the chapel at the west end:—"Mortuus est in manerio suo de Downham et delatus ad ecclesiam Elyensem, sepultus est in nova capella B. Mariæ quasi ad occidentalem partem capellæ anno Domini mccccxv."

Ang. Sac. i.
666.

The site of Fordham's tomb is unknown; but there can be very little doubt that it was taken down when the building was converted into a parish church, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The oblations received at it form one of the annual items in the accounts of the Custos capellæ B. M. V., from which the following extracts have been made:—

"*Oblaciones capellæ. Et de iiij^{li}. xvs. receptis de oblacionibus in pixide capellæ beatæ Mariæ virginis hoc anno. Et de receptis de oblacionibus factis ad*

Henry VI.
Date lost.

tumbam domini Johannis Fordham nuper Eliensis episcopi (erased). Et de ijs de Gilda sanctæ Mariæ virginis hoc anno. Summa *iiij*l*i. xvijs.*

“Necessariæ. . . . In organis emendandis *vjd.*

“Necessariæ. In denariis solutis pro mundacione coronarum sanctæ Mariæ similiter cum emendatione tumbæ de Fordham episcopi Eliensis, *iiij*l*.*

“Oblaciones in capella. Et de *lxxiijs. xjd.*, de oblacionibus in pixide capellæ beatæ Mariæ hoc anno. Et de *iijs. iiij*l*. ob. q* de oblacionibus ad tumbam domini Johannis Fordham quondam episcopi eliensis. Et de *xx*l*.* de oblacionibus gildæ Beatæ Mariæ hoc anno. Summa *lxxixs. xd*l*. ob. q.*

“Necessariæ. . . . In *xviij* lib. candelarum emptis pro lucerna ad curva hostia et capella *xviij*l*.* In *ij* candelabris ferreis ad tumbam domini Johannis Fordham de novo faciendis hoc anno *xx*l*.* Dati ad renovacionem Sotularis Beatæ Mariæ in loks *xij*l*.* In renovacione coronæ ejusdem *iiij*l*.* Dati pictori operanti super imaginem beatæ Mariæ *iiij*l*.* ultra *lvs. iiij*l*.* per dominum Willelmum Palfreyman capellanum ad facturam sotularis et deauracionem ejusdem.”

7 Ed. IV.

{ 4 Mar. 1467

{ 3 Mar. 1468. }

18 Ed. IV.

{ 4 Mar. 1478

{ 3 Mar. 1479. }

CHAPTER VII.

THE MONASTERY.—THE STATE OF THE ISLE OF ELY
BEFORE THE DRAINAGE OF THE FENS.

L. E. ii. 4, 5.

WHEN Æthelwold undertook to convert the monastery into a Benedictine foundation, he purchased from King Ædgar the whole district of the isle of Ely:—
 “Totam adjacentem regionem predictæ insulæ,” the twenty hides of land which he had in the isle, and also the dignity and soc of seven hundreds and a half, viz., two hundreds within the isle, and five hundreds in Wichlaw, in the province of the East Angles; five hides at Meldeburne, three and a half at Ærningeforde, and twelve at Northwold, for which he gave in exchange sixty hides in Herlingham, or Eartingan, which he had obtained as a gift from King Æthelstane. He also obtained a fourth part of the revenues of the province of Grantaceaster, the villages “tres villas” Meldeburn, Earningforde or Ærningeforde, and Northwolve, and ten thousand eels from a “villa” called Welle, or Willan, for the support of the monks. The King granted to him for the intended monastery all fines and forfeitures for breaches of the law in secular causes over all the property that the monastery then acquired, or should hereafter obtain, and added finally a gift of forty hides at Hætfeld (Hatfield), that the monks might have timber for the erection of their church:—“Quia saltuosa regio erat, ibi materiam ad opus ecclesiæ, satisque lignorum suos usus ad explendos fratres inde habere possent.” The Bishop must have given at least sixty hides of land and fen to the monastery:—“Collectis igitur omnibus terris quas

L. E. ii. 7.

Ædelwoldus episcopus infra aquas, et paludes, et mariscum de Ely, adquisivit, Deoque ac S. Æeldrydæ dedit, habentur ibi sine dubio hydæ unde LX.”

L. E. ii. 24.

The boundaries of the isle, which were partly natural and partly artificial, were not accurately marked out for some time after this purchase was effected. The first Abbot appointed by Ædgar was Brithnoth, and, with the assistance of the King's gifts and the influence of his patron Æthelwold, he so increased the number of manors belonging to the monks that he was overwhelmed with business, and obliged to appoint one of the brethren named Leo to look after their estates. Leo was to act as bailiff:—“Erat præcipue terræ cultor, et curam habebat circa plantationes, et semina fructuum diversorum.”

L. E. ii. 54.

One of his first acts was to summon a meeting of all the tenants in the isle and its neighbourhood, in order to settle finally, with their approval, which was the Isle of Ely. Having determined its boundaries, the decision was submitted to King Ædgar, who confirmed it by a charter. According to this document, the extent of the isle was described as follows:—“Regio autem Elge per milliaria vii. in longum extenditur, a Cotingelade, viz. ad Littleport, vel ad Abbotesdelf, nunc Biscopesdelf dicitur, et iii^{or}. in latum a Chirchewere ad mare de Stretham; sed terminis duorum centuriatum, qui ad Ely ab antiquo pertinent, amplius comprehendí noscuntur, hoc est de medietate pontis de Tid usque ad Upwere, et de Biscopesdelf usque ad flumen juxta Burch quod vocatur Nen.” This charter is found in the second book of the Liber Eliensis; but the geographical boundaries of the isle are given also in the preface to the first book, and with some variations:—“Restat autem insula in longitudine miliaribus VII. a Cotingelade usque ad Litleporte, vel ad Abbotesdelf, nunc vero Biscopesdelf vocitatum; et in latitudine iii^{or},”

L. E. ii. 54,
105.

hoc est a Chercwere usque ad mare de Straham cum adjacentibus insulis, per gyrum, præter Dudingtone, quæ ex insula est, in qua villulæ sunt et nemora cum insulanis pertinentiis, &c. Nominatur etiam ad predictam insulam Chateriz ubi abbatia est sanctimonialium, et pagus Withleseia, atque abbatia monachorum de Tornea." The isle proper is thus described, as seven miles long from Cotinglade to Littleport or Abbotsdelf, by four miles wide, from Chirchewere to Strethammere. The two hundreds belonging to it extended from the middle of the bridge at Tyd on the north, to Upwere on the south, a distance of twenty-eight miles; and from Abbotsdelf on the east to the river Nene, near Peterborough, which is about twenty-five miles. One of the boundaries recited in Ædgar's charter, viz., Abbotsdelf, or King's delf as it was afterwards called, was a deep ditch, dug through the fens by Leo's orders. The name is preserved in that of the bridge which carries the ancient causeway, or road, from Ely and Stuntney to Soham, across a ditch now called The Crooked Drain. The bridge is known as Delf Bridge, and the drain, which is the present boundary of the Isle of Ely on the east, is no doubt, as Mr. Bentham suggested, the ancient Abbotsdelf:—"Secationem fecit ipso in invio et in aquoso paludum medio, quæ vulgo usque ad hanc diem Anglice Abbotesdelf, Latine autem Abbatis fossa sonat, ut esset tanquam firmamentum in luto aquarum, ne quis circumpositos titulos utriusque partis temere proriperet, aut conscenderet; sed et insulam per girum cum auctoritate regis Ædgari taxato signavit limite, et a seculo in seculum illius statutum nequaquam valet infringi."

L. E. ii. 54.

2nd Ed., 1772,
p. 355.

The boundaries of the isle are quoted from another source in Sir Wm. Dugdale's "History of Imbanking," at greater length and with more precision, but there is no mention of Abbotesdelf.

"The circuit of this isle," saith the Register of Ramsey, "beginneth at Erith brigge, and from thence extends to Sutton grove; so to Mepehale; thence to Wichhome brigg; thence to Ely Dounham; thence to Litolport; thence to the town of Ely; thence to Haveringmere; thence to Stratam lode; thence to Anglongwesche, on the south side of the isle; thence to Aldirhethe brigge, and so to Erith brigge.

"The entrances into it are these:—The first at Litolport; the second at Stuntmere brigge; the third at Alderhethe brigge; and the fourth at Erith brigge."

The limits of the isle given in Sprott's Chronicle are merely a repetition of those quoted by Sir W. Dugdale.

The isle, strictly speaking, was a large tract of alluvial deposit, rising, like the islands of Chatteris, Whittlesey, and March, out of the great level of the Fens. It got its name from Ely, where the principal church, and originally the only burial-ground, existed, and included the villages of Wilburton, Haddenham, Sutton, Mepal, Wicham, Witchford, Wentworth, Stretham, Thetford, Downham, and Chetisham; but in early times the monks included in its limits Whittlesey, Wisbech, and several other towns of considerable size, which were separated from the real isle by wide morasses. Even Littleport and Stuntney were originally small islands, separated by tracts of fen from Ely:—

"Sunt autem in gremio insulæ ecclesiæ duodecim, cum villis campestribus et modicis insulis, quæ ab antiquo ad cenobium tanquam capellæ ad matricem ecclesiam pertinent; nec extra cenobium, nisi sero, ad ecclesias facta sunt cimiteria, sed apud Ely ex tota insula defunctorum sepeliebantur corpora."

The Ouse, on entering the county of Cambridge, at Erith, divided itself at one time into two branches, which both found their way to the sea at Ousebech, or Wisbech.

Treasurer's roll,
9 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1335.
 24 Jun. 1336. }

L. E. de situ.

History of Im-
banking by
Dugdale, 1st
Ed., 1662, 372,
394, 396.

One branch, called the West Water, had its course from Erith bridge to Chateriz ferry, and thence to Benwick, where it met with a part of the Nene and made its way to Wisbeche.

The second branch, flowing east by south, and then north, "fell down from Erith to Harrimere, and there meeting with the river Grant from Cambridge, passed so united to Ely, thence to Litleport chaire, and so by Welney, and Welle, to the said north seas at Wisbeche." At that time "there was no river between Litleport chaire and Rebbech . . . by Pricst's houses, where Ouse parva comes in, but divers lodes, lakes, and dikes" drained that district into a great meer by Welle called the Wide. This inland sea communicated with the ocean at Wisbech, and was occupied by Hereward's ships when he was defending the isle against the Normans. The meer is gone, but the name remains in Upwell Fen. At present, both these channels are almost closed to the waters of the Ouse, which are carried in a straight line from Erith to Denver by the Bedford river, and there poured into the channel of the Little Ouse to reach the sea at Lynn. The Welney river now represents the old course of the Ouse to Wisbech.

Ancient Cam-
bridgeshire by
Prof. Babington,
p. 69.

The entrances to the isle which are most frequently mentioned in the records are the two causeways at Aldreth and Stuntney, and these were probably kept in better order than the others, because they led to the important markets at Stourbridge, Reche, and Newmarket. The safety of the monks and of their property depended very much on the difficulty of getting to Ely across the marshes or fens; and the impracticable character of the country to which Etheldreda retired, is dwelt on by most of the writers, beginning with Bede, who have ever alluded to the monastery which she founded. It was easier to get to the isle by water than by land, and even as late as the sixteenth century the monks who had

business to transact in that neighbourhood performed many of their journeys by water.

The description of the characteristic features of the place which Bede gave, is almost copied by the writer of the "*Historia Eliensis*" late in the twelfth century:—"Non enim insula maris est, sed stagnorum refusionibus et paludibus inaccessa. Navigio adiri poterat, sed quoniam volentibus illuc ire quondam periculosum navi-
bus, nunc facta via per palustre arundinetum, pedibus transitur." Matthew Paris says very much the same:—"Erat enim insula intransmeabilibus circumdata paludibus et arundinetis;" and, in the chronicle of Richard of Devizes, Ely is said to be poisoned by its marshes:—"Eliensis pagus perpetuo putidus est pro circumfusus paludibus."

L. E. de situ.

Ricardus Divi-
sionis, 81.

The extracts which follow show that in the eastern counties up to the time of Henry VIII. it was quite as common for dignified ecclesiastics to travel by water as by land. The long journey from Walden to Ely was made in a boat, when the Abbot of Walden attended the funeral of Prior Bukton:—"Et in diversis hominibus conductis ad remigandum abbatem de Walden usque Ely ad celebrandum exequias et missas defuncti, xvjd." So, also, when Bukton's successor, William Walpol, was elected, John Judd and Thomas Hetersete, the doctors of law, who attended to conduct the proceedings, were sent from Ely to Cambridge in a boat with their clerks:—"Et in una batella conducta pro eisdem remigandis de Ely usque Cantebri-
giam, xijd."

Treasurer's roll,
20 Rich. II.
{ 22 June 1396. }
{ 21 June 1397. }

It must not be concluded from these examples that ordinary roads did not exist, but rather that they had not superseded the old channels of communication with which the inhabitants of the fen districts were most familiar.

In the time of Edward IV. the Prior went in his barge to Doddington to visit the Bishop of the diocese,

and in the later reign of Henry VIII. the much longer journey to Lynn was also performed by water. Between Somersham and Ely there was in the reign of Edward IV. a horse-road, which was probably the entrance to the isle by Erith bridge, which is mentioned in the Ramsey Register, page 147 :—

Roll of Senescallus, 14th of Ed. IV.

{ 4 Mar. 1474. }
{ 3 Mar. 1475. }

“In expensis domini Prioris remigantis usque Dodyngton ad dominum episcopum citra festum Sancti Cuthberti, iijs. *xd.*”

Roll of Senescallus, 14th of Ed. IV.

“In expensis domini Prioris equitantis usque Somersham ad dominum episcopum cum viij equis per unum diem et unum noctem, vjs. *iiijd.*”

Roll of Senescallus, 17th Henry VIII.

{ 22 April, 1525. }
{ 21 April, 1526. }

“In expensis ejusdem senescalli navigantis usque Lenn et domorsum, viijs. *xd.*”

Roll of Senescallus, 17th of Henry VIII.

“In expensis Thome Parker equitantis usque Cant’ cum aqua domini Prioris infirmi per ij vices, iijs. *ixd.*”

Roll of Treasurer, Henry VIII.

Date unknown.

“In expensis domini Prioris versus London citra festum Sancti Martini et ibidem per v Septimanas xvj*li.* ijs. *iiijd.* In expensis domini Prioris versus London ad loquendum cum magistro Crumwell, *lxxixs.*”

The horse-tracks which the monks used were no doubt, in their time, as impassable in wintry or wet weather as fen roads, or droves, are now, and the whole district was rapidly flooded whenever the natural outfalls of the waters were choked by excessive rain, or neglected by those whose business it was to keep them clear.

History of Imbanking.

The “Mapp of the great Levell representing it as it lay drowned,” which is given by Dugdale, conveys a good idea of the isle as it is described by early writers. It rose out of a watery waste, which “time out of mind was neither accessible for man nor beast, affording only deep mud, with sedge and reeds, and possest by birds, yea, much more by devils.”

Matt. Paris, p. 929, n. 30, as quoted by Dugdale, 359.

The limits of the fens claimed by the Bishops of Ely and the Abbots of Ramsey and Thorney were

not settled even in the time of Henry III., and later. The difficulty, if not impossibility, of defining the extent of property which had no natural and abiding boundaries, produced constantly recurring disputes, which were adjusted by commissions as often as they broke out. Dike reeves were appointed to dig ditches, survey fens, or watch over the preservation of particular banks and sewers; but it is not easy to say with accuracy in what manner, or by whom, these morasses were, in early times, even partially relieved from the over-abundance of waters which the sluggish rivers could not carry off. "The first and greatest attempt . . . for the general draynage of those vast fens lying in Cambridgeshire and the counties adjacent was" made in the fifteenth century by John Morton, Bishop of Ely, who made a cut, twelve miles in length, from Stanground, near Peterborough, to Guyhirn, which is close to Wisbech. This drain was forty feet across by four feet in depth, and is still called Morton's Leam.

History of
Imbanking, by
Dugdale, pre-
face and p. 364,
1st Ed.

The main road, leaving the isle on the south, and passing by Stuntney to Soham, is said by the writer of the "Historia" to have been made by a monk, John, in the time of Bishop Hervey. S. Edmund is reported to have appeared in a vision to a labouring man, and to have desired him to take a message to the Bishop of Ely. "Arise," said he, "hasten to the Bishop, and tell him in my name to make a road by which I can visit the blessed Etheldreda."

L. E. iii. 32.

The task was undertaken by one of the monks, who measured the distance between the two places, cut down the reeds, built bridges across the streams, and made a dry causeway across the fens.

But Soham was the seat of a bishoprick, and also the site of a large monastery, and it is probable that this story merely refers to the repair of a very old track, which had become impassable in the twelfth century.

Professor Babington considers this Soham Causeway to have been part of the old "*Suffolk and Sawtry Way*," which came from London to Colne, near Erith. Passing from Dunmow to the east of Newmarket, it is supposed to have crossed Chippenham Park to Fordham, and to have gone by Brook Street to Soham and Ely.

The repair of this causeway is a very frequent item in the rolls of all the Sacrists.

5 Henry III.
{ 23 Oct. 1220. }
{ 27 Oct. 1221. }

Sacrist's roll,
30 Ed. I.
{ 20 Nov. 1301. }
{ 20 Nov. 1302. }

Sacrist's roll,
16 Ed. II.
{ 8 July, 1322. }
{ 7 July, 1323. }

In the thirteenth century Henry III. gave four oaks from his forest at Warboys, in Huntingdonshire, to Peter de Valentiniis, one of the monks at Ely, to repair the bridges. In the time of Edward I. the repairs in one year amounted to £6 11s. 1½*d.*, and in the following reign the cost of rushes in twelve months for the tracks to Stuntney and Soham was £4 2s. 7½*d.*:—"In diversis bordis emptis pro pontibus calceti reparandis, xs. xj*d.* . . In leschis emptis pro calcetis de Stunteneye et Saham stramenandis, iiij*l.* ijs. vij*d.* ob. In stipendiis diversorum operariorum pro dictis calcetis exaltandis, straminandis, et reparandis, per diem, lis. ij*d.* ob."

Sacrist's roll,
19 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1345. }
{ 24 Jan. 1346. }

So, also, in the time of the next King, Edward III., there are the usual annual purchases of timber made for the roads:—"In C Stoythis empt' apud Steresbrigge pro. . . calceti. In C bord de popler empt' ibidem pro predict' calcet'."

Sacrist's roll,
26 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1352. }
{ 24 Jan. 1353. }

"Custus calcetorum de Stunteneye et Saham. Soluti Johanni Arlegray de Stunteney in partem de x marcis ex conventionem pro calceto de Saham, xlvjs. viij*d.* hoc anno. Soluti Willelmo de Oxberw' pro custodia calceti de Stunteneye lijs., per septimanam xij*d.*, Soluti eidem ijs., plus pro operatione dierum cum aliis operariis. Item. Soluti pro ccij rodīs fove rum fossandis super calcetum de Stunteneye xls. iiij*d.* per rodām ij*d.* Item. Soluti pro iiij veteribus navibus pro capite magni pontis et pro le stathys, xvijjs. viij*d.* Item. Soluti pro cc lesch ad cal-

cetum straminandum, xs. Item. Soluti iij mulieribus ad straminandum calcetum per iij dies, xvij*℥*, cuilibet per diem, ij*℥*. Item. Soluti diversis operariis ad pros-tenandam terram super le Stathe de novo factum xiijs. vj*℥*.

“Summa, ix*℥*. iijs. viij*℥*.”

“Custus calceti. Soluti Johanni Harlegei custodi calceti de Saham per ann: xls. ex conventione preter j garnyamentum et iiij buss. frumenti. Soluti Willelmo Brigman custodi calceti de Stunteneye per ann: xxxiijs. ex conventione preter j garnyamentum et iiij bus. frumenti. In stipendio v hominum operantium super calcetum de Stunteneye pro xxx dies operabiles ad mensam propriam, xxxvijs. vj*℥*, cuilibet per diem, iij*℥*. In stipendio unius hominis operantis ibidem per xij dies, ijs. vj*℥*, per diem, ij*℥*. ob. In expensis xxxij hominum venientium de Wynteworthe ex prece ad fodienda fossata ex parte boreali per j diem, et in carne et cervisia, ijs. ij*℥*. In ccc lesch emptis ad straminandum dictum calcetum, ijs. In eodem straminando, vj*℥*. Dati operariis ibidem ad cervisiam per vices, xvj*℥*.

“Summa, vj*℥*. ijs.”

In some instances the Sacrist's accounts refer to expenses for carting ballast, as in the following entry:—

“In stipendio diversorum hominum conductorum ad cariandum argillam cum carectis suis a le gravelpitte usque altam pontem pro calceto de Soham in grosso, xxviijs.”

These few extracts—and they might easily be multiplied—show that some provision was made for the maintenance of this road to Soham from very early periods in the history of the monastery. It does not follow, however, that the causeway was anything more than a footway, which it was important to keep up, not merely because it enabled the monks to reach easily their great grange at Stuntney, but because it saved their visitors,

Sacrist's roll,
31 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1357. }
{ 24 Jan. 1358. }

Sacrist's roll,
10 Hen. VII.
{ 22 Aug. 1494. }
{ 21 Aug. 1495. }

and travellers in general, the troublesome, and, as it was called, the dangerous navigation of Soham meer.

This meer is now under cultivation, and it is not unusual for the plough to bring to light the remains of trees, whose roots, deeply imbedded in the fen, testify that at some remote period the great level was a forest, in which oaks and firs attained to a great size. Deers' antlers are often found in the peat, and a deer park, near Newmarket, is mentioned in Doomsday.

The grange at Stuntney is often referred to in documents drawn up in the Priory. The following extract is taken from a Sacrist's roll dated in the reign of Henry VII. :—" In stipendio Ricardi Dent carpentarii pro reparacione magne grangie apud Stuntney in diversis defectibus in gruncellac' et lez stoths et ix cople sparres faciendis et imponendis ex convencione in grosso, xijs."

Sacrist's roll,
3 Hen. VII.
{ 22 Aug. 1487. }
{ 21 Aug. 1488. }

The entrance to the isle over the bridge at Aldreth is not so frequently mentioned in the monastery records as the road which connected the two great churches of Soham and Ely, but it was regularly repaired, and the bridge was kept in a serviceable condition. The road or track which is now known as Aldreth, or Audrey's causeway, which is merely a corruption of Etheldreda's causeway, runs for some distance parallel to the ancient Akeman Street, from High Bridge, on the Old Ouse, to the hamlet of Aldreth, in the parish of Haddenham; but originally it was carried further south to a circular camp, called Balsar's Hills, and might be traced, not many years ago, to a spot marked by a sort of square on the Ordnance Map, about half-way between Rampton and Willingham.

Professor
Babington's
Ancient Cam-
bridgeshire,
p. 49.

The name of the camp is supposed by some writers to be derived from Belasyus, general of the army of William the Conqueror, which invested the isle; but the derivation rests on the statements of a MS. of no

Brit. Mus.
Vesp. B. xv.

great authority, entitled, "Story found in the Isle of Elie."

This story was probably written in order to explain away, as far as was possible, the treachery of the monks who betrayed the isle to the King's troops without consulting the wishes of Hereward, who had so long successfully defended it. The writer, after describing the decisive character of the battle of Hastings, proceeds thus : — "Wherefore Eglewyn, Bishop of Durham, Egfryd, Abbot of S. Albons, Earle Margarus, Edward comes Byarṁn, and divers other peeres of the realme, which to the uttermoste of their power withstoode the bastardes attempts, together with their frendes, with great store of treasure, fled to us for succour, by whose helpe we endured the violent threates of the Normans 7 yeeres together, untill such tyme as Belasyus, generall of the kinges army, in thys service, of whom certayne hylles, which at the south end of Aldreth causey were built for the safety of the armyes, tooke their names, which we now by corrupt speech call Belsar's hilles, getting a great company of boates, passed the waters on a suddayne, and set us at our wits endes."

The name of the general appears in an inquisition of the manors of the see of Ely made in the thirteenth century :—

"Incipit Inquisitio manerii de Winelingham. De B. M.
Tiberius, B. ii. dominico.

"Dominicum hujus manerii distinguitur in tres partes, scilicet in campo de belasise quaterviginti una acre mensūr per parċ septendecim pedes et dimid'.

"Preterea sunt ibi sexdecim acre que qūz arantur et seċantur qūz propter nimiam pluviam jacent in pratum et pasturam. Scilicet infra Belasise sex acras."

Although it may, no doubt, be inferred, from these quotations, that Balsar's Hills were part of an estate

which Belasius obtained at Willingham from his royal master, and that the name they acquired is that of their possessor; it is very improbable that the King's troops ever threw up the earthworks in question.

Competent authorities pronounce Balsar's Hills to be merely the remains of a British fort, which Romans and Normans may have occupied in succession; and the causeway they identify with an old Roman road which once united Cambridge and Ely, and was in constant use by the monks as their highway across the fens on the south of their isle.

As Professor Babington remarks, the name of the causeway adds to the probability that William I. found the road, and did not make it.

When the Norman soldiers who had been left to garrison Ely were withdrawn by the Conqueror's orders, they are said to have left the place by this track:—
 “These soldiours were sorry to depart; but our monkes (marvell it is to tell) did not only with teares bewayle the departure of their deere fellowes, the noble soldiours, but also with howling fearfull to be heard did cry out, beating their brestes, voyd of all hope. When these gentlemen should departe, all our monkes (whose number was great), wearing copes, did curteously bring them as farre as Hadenham in procession, with singing, sencing, and with all the solemnitie that could be.”

At the date of the Conquest this road must have been almost destroyed; for it is hardly credible that William, who possessed an army of sixty thousand stipendiary soldiers when he came to this country, would have spent more than seven years in reducing Ely, if there had been a decent road to it, along which his troops could have marched. A great part of the ancient track had no doubt been washed away, and he selected Aldreth as the point to be attacked, because the waters were narrower there than in other places:—

“Nimium commotus, ad Alrehethe, ubi aquæ insulæ minus latæ sunt, per pontem quem pridie paraverat suum iterum adplicuit exercitum; tamen ad spatium quatuor stadiorum earum illic extenditur latitudo.”

The ruinous state of the old pathways at this period is also shown in other ways. S. Audrey's causeye is said

in some of the Ely chronicles to have been laid down during the episcopate of Hervey:—“Eo sedente strata est illa via Etheldredæ quæ vulgo vocatur S. Audreyes causeye.” This statement is no more literally true than

the corresponding one with respect to the road to Soham: it only shows that early in the twelfth century the roads in this part of England were scarcely passable.

The repair of the calcetum de Alderhe was afterwards a charge upon the tenants of Dunham, and perhaps

other manors, but the duty was evidently often neglected, and in the reign of Henry V. a commission was

issued to view “the several causeys betwixt Ely and Saham, Ely and Litleport, and Hadenham and Wyne-
lingham (Willingham), then broken and decayed, and to take order for their repair.”

It is very possible that this general neglect of what might be thought an obvious duty was, in reality, a matter of policy. The monks knew well enough that so long as their retreat was isolated from the whole neighbourhood by a wide belt of fen, which could seldom be crossed without risk, and never without difficulty, their lives and property were much safer from molestation than if they trusted to the most skilful defences produced by art alone.

The waters were, as their own historian described them, a wall of defence:—“Insula aquis et paludibus latis velut muro forti obsita.”

In the reign of Henry III. the isle was pronounced one of the strongest military positions in England; and

L. E. ii. 104.

B. M. Vesp.
B. xv. f. 48.

B. M. Claud.
c. xi. f. 38.

History of
Imbanking,
Dugdale, 360,
1st Ed.

L. E. ii. 105.

Rymer's Fœ-
dera, vol. i.
229, quoted by
Bentham.

it was feared that French troops might be established there, in defiance of the King's authority.

Aug. 4, 1265.

After the battle of Evesham, the Isle of Axholme and the Isle of Ely were the only places which, trusting to the strength of their situation, could venture on resisting the Royalists; and many of the barons who could not pay the heavy fines by which they were allowed to recover their forfeited estates, fled to Ely, and found a refuge there, from which they were not dislodged till the year 1267, when the place was reduced by Prince Edward.

Two hundred years later the isle was garrisoned by Bishop Gray, as a precaution against the troops of Queen Margaret. In one of the chronicles preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace, the Queen is said to have marched with an army of mercenaries from the north, on the 12th February, 1460, after the battle of Wakefield; to have attacked and spoiled the towns of Grantham, Stamford, Peterboro', Huntingdon, Royston, and many others which came in her route to S. Albans, and finally to have gained a victory over the Earl of Warwick, at a spot called No Man's Land, between Luton and S. Albans.

This rapid march alarmed the monks, and led to the formation of an army of defence, which may have saved the Priory from sharing the fate of many other religious houses:—"Et dominus Willelmus Gray episcopus Eliensis eodem tempore misit pro hominibus omnium villarum suarum in Essexia Norfolch et Suffolch et comitatu Cantebrigie et cum xxxv de Burgundia cum fundibilibus et crosbowys ad custodiendam insulam Eliensem et castrum de Wysbech in manu, forti et armata (per aquam quia omnes marisci circa insulam erant submersi per magnam aquam*) præ timore Northynmen quia spoliabant plures villas monasteria

*Added in margin.

et ecclesias per viam et aliorum auferendo equos jocalia utensilia pannos lenthiamina cochlearia ollas et patellas æneas et de plectro et destraxerunt victualia per totam viam, ut predictum est supra, et salvi ad North redierunt ducentes secum Henricum regem."

The natural capabilities for defence which thus made Etheldreda's little kingdom a safe refuge in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, must have been even more prominent in the eleventh century, at which time no attempt had been made to drain off the waters which gathered round it; and this probably explains both the resistance which Ely made to William I. and his determination to subdue it.

To have left such an asylum for Anglo-Saxon independence in the possession of a band of daring men who represented some of the most influential English families and the bitterest of his enemies, would have entirely defeated the Conqueror's design of overturning the national government, and effecting a complete social and territorial revolution.

Whatever resisted his love of absolute power and passion for money was denounced with unsparing tyranny.

He degraded the English bishops, proscribed the English nobles, and extorted wealth from every source of income which his oppressive government could reach.

The confiscation of property and exclusion of the English from all political privileges affected the interests of the Church in a variety of ways. The tenants of the monasteries were supposed to be free from all military service; and even if there was no special law which exempted them from a burden common to property generally, the clergy constantly endeavoured to secure such an immunity either by grant or custom, because it immensely increased the wealth of the Church.

Hallam's
Middle Ages,
Notes, 120.

They claimed a relief from secular burdens in consideration of the high and exalted service which they rendered to the country; but after the feudal policy was completely established, there was no dispensation for ecclesiastical fiefs. The King divided his new dominion into about 60,000 parcels of land, from each of which he claimed the service of a fully-equipped soldier for forty days. The monks of Ely gained no exemption on account of their submission to the Conqueror. Their treachery to Hereward saved them in no respect from the oppressive system under which the whole of England groaned, and they had to submit to every burden of the bitter tyranny which William and his Norman followers brought upon their country.

All the peculiar features of Norman feudalism were transferred to England; an oath of fealty to the King was exacted, not only from all landholders, but from all those who held in chief and from their tenants: all religious foundations and monasteries were made liable to the knight service as tenants in chief, and before the King's last visit to Normandy in 1087, Abbot Symeon was instructed that he must maintain forty soldiers, completely equipped, and ready to do service in the King's wars:—"At rex preces ejus et munera sprexit, male statuta convelli non desinit, sed jugum adgravare intendens, precepit illi ex nutu regio custodiam xl militum habere in insulam."

L. E. ii. 134.

The Abbot strongly resisted the imposition of a service from which church lands had hitherto been free, and offered to pay a fine instead. It was useless: when the King spoke, his subjects had but to listen and obey. Resistance being out of the question, Symeon armed forty men, who were either his dependents, or were willing to enter his service, and quartered them on the Celerer of the abbey, as long as that officer would submit to such an additional drain on the

resources of his department. The monks soon found that the discipline of their order was weakened by the constant presence of forty idle soldiers, and that the interests of the abbey required the adoption of some other arrangement. Abbot Symeon pointed out to them that, as the King had laid an arbitrary tax on their estates in general, it would be best for the brotherhood to throw on the tenants of particular manors this new burden of providing recruits for the army of a sovereign whom they detested, but dared not disobey. The proposal was one which was approved, and the distracted state of the country, and the insecurity of all their property, were additional reasons for adopting their Abbot's advice.

In the course of the struggles to defend the isle against invasion, many of the estates of the abbey had been seized by Norman or other mercenary soldiers, whom it would have been difficult for the monks to eject; but these men, who had crossed the sea as military adventurers, were quite ready to accept a legal title to what they were holding by force without one, and especially on the easy tenure suggested by Abbot Symeon.

The monks really gained by this bargain, for the church retained a slight hold on its property instead of losing it altogether, and for a time the King's demands were easily settled.

The names of some of the men who held estates under this tenure have been preserved, in the *Liber Eliensis* :—

“Ex hoc enim abbas compulsus, non ex industria aut favore divitum vel propinquorum affectu, quasdam terras sanctæ Etheldredæ invasoribus in feudum permisit tenere, sicuti Picoto vicecomiti, Hardwino de Escalers, Rogero Bicot, Hereveio Biturico, et aliis, sicut liber terrarum prodit, nullam vero penitus de Dominio, ut in

L. E. ii. 134.

omni expeditione regi observarent et ecclesia perpetim infatigata permaneret.”

9 Sept. 1087. The comparative peace which the monks now enjoyed lasted only till the King's death. The insurrections and wars which broke out when his son Rufus seized the throne, brought fresh troubles on the church, heavier taxation and more irritating interferences with personal liberty.

Campbell's
Chancellors, i.
47.

The number of soldiers required from the abbey of Ely was at once doubled, while its landed estates and entire revenues were well nigh confiscated to the use of the new King. Ranulf Flambard, a Norman priest, and “a monster unredeemed from his vices by any virtue or agreeable quality,” to whose unscrupulous avarice the management of the crown revenues was committed, took possession of the abbey lands, received the rents, and reduced the seventy monks to the condition of pensioners on the royal bounty. A fixed sum was granted for the expenses of their board and clothing, and all that remained of the revenues arising from their estates was retained as belonging to the crown. Their annual allowance was regulated by the following agreement, to which the Abbot was obliged, no doubt unwillingly, to give his consent :—

L. E. ii. 136.

“Hæc sunt quæ idem Ranulfus et Symeon abbas ex jussu regis Willelmi constituerunt, uno quoque anno dari ad opus fratrum. Ad vestimenta eorum septuaginta libras. Ad coquinam eorum sexaginta libras. Ad sagimen ducentos porcos, et porcos qui in curia pascuntur, et totum caseum et butirum excepto hoc quod est in firma prepositorum, et unaquaque ebdomada septem treias frumenti et decem treias brasii. Ad luminaria monasterii presentem ecclesiam cum sepultura villæ et totum quicquid pertinet ad sanctum Botulfum cum festivitate. Et si tantum fuerit de vino semper habebunt in duodecim lectionibus caritatem, et in sabbato, sin autem medietatem Medonis habebunt.”

On the death of the Abbot Symeon the spoliation of the monks seems to have been completed with great severity. Everything that could be found in their treasury was seized by the King's obnoxious minister, and an inventory of their effects was drawn up for his use. Their library of 300 volumes, the gold and silver shrines, chalices, candelabra, forty-six copes, twenty-three chasubles, one hundred and two albs, the same number of amices, all their service-books and altar furniture; everything, in fact, to which any value could be attached, was claimed on behalf of the insatiable necessities of the royal treasury. As long as William Rufus lived, the monks obtained no relief from the oppressive tyranny maintained in his name by the Chancellor Flambard, whom an old historian anathematized as the plunderer of the rich, the exterminator of the poor, and the confiscator of other men's inheritances. For many years a large proportion of the revenue of the Abbey of Ely was diverted from its proper uses to enrich this man; but as soon as the Conqueror's youngest son, Henry the First, had been crowned, the monks could speak and act more freely. L. E. ii. 140.
5 Aug. 1100.

Henry had to secure his throne by propitiating the great powers of the realm; and with this view he promised, in his celebrated charter, a remission of unreasonable reliefs, wardships, and other feudal burthens, which gave the church good reason to rejoice at his accession to power.

He offered to restore to his subjects the laws of Edward the Confessor, and his reign opened with a kind of reflux against the arbitrary and unjust exactions of his father and brother.

Henry's appointment of Richard to the vacant pre-ferment of Ely, which has been already mentioned, led ultimately to very important changes in the constitution of the abbacy.

Richard was closely connected with two very powerful Norman families, whose wealth and arrogance created constant jealousies and dangerous animosities in Henry's court. His mother Rohesia was the daughter of Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham, and his father Richard, besides having been enriched by William the Conqueror with estates at Clare, in Suffolk, and at Tunbridge, in Kent, was also Chief Justiciary of England.

L. E. ii. 142. The extreme antipathy which existed between the English and their invaders was under very little restraint in the time of Henry I., and evidently led to the Abbot's deprivation, but, at the same time, as a kind of judicial compensation, Flambard, whose intolerable exactions of tribute had oppressed the monks of Ely, was driven from his bishopric, and remained an exile as long as the Abbot lived.

It is said that, after his return from Rome, Richard was again admitted to the King's favour and confidence, and it is not altogether improbable that he owed his restoration in some degree to the intervention of the influential families with which he was closely connected; for Henry was not in a condition to risk the support to his throne which such powerful subjects could either give or refuse.

L. E. ii. 149. The Abbot is said to have obtained from his royal patron a charter restoring to the monks the valuable manor of Hadham, which Flambard had, without a shadow of right, appropriated to his own uses. Flambard's imprisonment in the Tower happened very early in Henry's reign, and the charter, if genuine, represents one of the King's earliest attempts to repair the injustice tolerated by his late brother; but the manor in question was not really recovered till the year 1110, three years after Richard's death, and then under the authority of a fresh charter, granted at Windsor to Richard's successor. At that time the difficulties of

L. E. iii. 20.

obtaining legal redress for wrongs were no doubt very great, but the Abbot's influence cannot have been very powerful if in a case of so much importance to himself he could not get common justice.

Towards the close of his life the Abbot succeeded in obtaining the King's consent to a scheme for converting the abbacy into a bishopric; but although he was fortunate enough to get the better of the opposition raised against this increase of the episcopate by the Bishop of Lincoln, who then exercised spiritual jurisdiction over the county of Cambridge, and claimed it over the Isle of Ely also, he did not live long enough to see the desired arrangement carried into effect. Through his inability to secure attention to his interests, so much time was lost in combating objections, and in carrying on negotiations at Rome with Pope Paschal II., that he died without securing the honours he coveted for his Church.

On his death, which took place on the 16th July, 1107, his agents at Rome suspended their proceedings and returned to England, while Hervey, Bishop of Bangor, who had been driven from his diocese, and was living under the King's protection, was sent down to Ely to undertake the administration of the Abbey, till another Abbot was appointed. Hervey went to Ely with an understanding that the King would, in some way or other, compensate him for the loss of his Welsh preferment, and soon found that it was his interest to revive the schemes proposed by the last Abbot, and to become himself a candidate for the new see. He represented to Henry that the monks had no objection to the establishment of a Bishop at Ely, and obtained his authority to reopen the negotiations with the Pope and the Bishop of Lincoln.

The King had private reasons for promoting the success of this measure. He saw, as others had seen,

the immense importance of securing the Isle of Ely for military purposes, and the dangers that might threaten his throne if so strong a position was in the hands of a hostile faction able to develop its natural capabilities of defence. The wealth of the Abbey, too, had become very considerable, and necessarily gave it immense influence. If, therefore, he could divide both the interests and the revenues of the landowners of the isle, by placing at Ely a Bishop on whose fidelity he could rely, he may naturally have fancied that he could neutralize some of the possible dangers against which timely precautions were necessary.

As soon as Henry's consent was obtained, Hervey's task was reduced to satisfying the objections raised by the Bishop of Lincoln, and to securing the co-operation of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury.

He therefore obtained a private interview with the Bishop, and, without consulting the monks of Ely, offered him one of their estates in exchange for his spiritual jurisdiction over the county of Cambridge. The Bishop consented to withdraw his opposition, the manor of Spaldwic, in Huntingdonshire, was conveyed to him and to his successors, and one more obstacle to Hervey's advancement was removed.

The proposal to create a new bishopric was brought by the King before a council held in London in the year 1108, and Hervey was sent to Rome with letters from both Henry and Anselm, urging the Pope to confirm their proceedings.

L. E. iii. 2, 3,
4, 5.

His co-operation was obtained without much difficulty, and Hervey was recommended to the proposed see. The death of Anselm, and the King's absence in Normandy, probably delayed the last stages of these lengthy negotiations; but in the tenth year of Henry's reign, while he was living at Nottingham Castle, the charter was granted which created the bishopric of Ely.

10 Hen. I.
{ 5 Aug. 1109. }
{ 4 Aug. 1110. }

This charter was executed on the feast of the translation of Etheldreda, or Oct. 17, 1109, and was signed, according to the Ely Chronicles, by Henry's Queen, and by his daughter Matilda, or Maud, then betrothed to the Emperor Henry IV., "*sponsa regis Romanorum*," although she was only eight or nine years old. In the beginning of this document the King asserts his father's hereditary right to the throne of England:—"Ego Henricus, providente divina clementia, rex Anglorum, et Normannorum dux, Willelmi Magni regis filius, qui Edwardo regi hereditario jure successit in regnum," &c.

L. E. iii. 6.

The new see, according to the terms of this document, was to take in the monastery of Ely, over which, up to that time, Abbots had presided, the county of Cambridge, as far as it had hitherto been in the jurisdiction of the see of Lincoln, and the two abbeys of Thorney and Chatteris.

L. E. iii. 6.

The genuineness of this charter was attacked by Selden and by Wharton, but their criticisms were vigorously disputed by Bentham, who denied that the document was a forgery of the Ely monks. Whether the deed was genuine or not, there is no doubt that Hervey became the first Bishop of Ely, that he held the see for nearly twenty-two years, and that through him the abbey of Ely, as such, was suppressed, and its revenues divided between the monks and the Bishop. This division of property, however, gave rise to very angry discussions, although it was authorized by a royal charter, which directed that the monks should have a fair and equal share, according to established custom and the law of the Church, of all the lands, possessions, privileges and endowments, held by the abbey at the time of its conversion into an episcopal see.

Seldeni in Eadmerum Notæ et Spicelegium, p. 212.

Ang. Sac. i. 678.

Bentham's History of Ely. Appendix, viii.

Acting under this mandate, the Bishop permitted the monks to retain out of their ancient possessions

L.E. iii. 25, 26. merely so much as was in his judgment sufficient for their wants. He gave them, within the isle, Sutton, Wicham, Witchford, Wintworth, Tithbrightsey, Wittlesey,* Stuntney, and 23,000 eels, as a charge or tax on the adjacent meer.

All offerings and oblations made at the altars of the mother-church were granted to it as a sustentation fund. The Church of S. Mary in Ely, with all lands, tenths, and everything belonging to it, was assigned to the monks, who were to receive also the tithes of the manor of Barton, and a cowpen, or farm, in Biela or Beel. Stretham, the Bishop divided into three parts, two of which were to endow the guests' hall at Ely, and the remaining third was to be paid to the general fund. He further gave to the monks four weighs (pensa) of cheese in Derreford, and six of salt in Tirintun; the same allowance of wood from Somersham and Bluntesham as they had enjoyed under the Abbots, whom he considered as his predecessors; one mensura of land on Bluntesham bank, with five acres where wood might be stowed, and eight acres of pasture for the oxen employed in dragging the wood; the vineyard at Ely, as it had been held before he became Bishop; and six fishermen with their houses to carry on their trade as formerly.

Without the isle, he gave them, in the county of Cambridge, Hauchiston, Newtun, Scheldford, Meldeburn, Melred, Suafham, and twelve skeps (sceppæ) of wheat and malt due to the Church from the heirs of Hardwin de Scalariis. In Suffolk, they were to have Bercham, Wincestun, Stoke, Meltun, Baldresey, Suthburn, Brichtwell, and Rixmere; the soc of five hundreds and a half; Lachingeia, or Lakynghythe, Undeley, Seepey, Fotestorp, to be at the disposal of

* Withleseia is omitted in some copies of the charter.

the monks, and 30,000 herrings from Dunwic. He gave up to them also all their "servientes," or serfs, with their habitations, and allowed them to retain whatever gifts they had received before the creation of the bishopric, or might acquire in future, whether they consisted of churches, fisheries, tithes, or money.

With this distribution of their property the monks were entirely dissatisfied. They denied that they had ever given their consent to parcelling out the estates of the Church to endow the bishopric; although, out of respect to the royal authority, they had refrained from open opposition to the King's wishes.

Hervey had forced on them, they said, a measure which was at variance with the terms of the charter by which he claimed authority to act.

The King's charter entitled them to an equal share of the wealth of the Abbey, but Hervey, they complained, had allotted to himself all the valuable estates which they possessed, and had left them only the barren and least productive manors over which their authority and right of ownership extended. So far from being able to maintain seventy monks and their attendants, which was the proper complement of the Abbey, they had not sufficient revenue left, after such spoliation, to meet the annual requirements of forty monks.

It is very difficult, after a long lapse of years, to trace out the various ways in which the monks were worsted in their endeavours to resist the encroachments of two such powers as the Crown and Bishop. Bentham has maintained that their complaints were really just ones, and he supports this opinion by quoting the following statement made by William of Malmesbury:—

" he who now presides there receives annually £1,040 into his own purse, besides what he expends on his own family, and in keeping up hospitality, but has scarcely allowed £300 to the monks."

Bentham's
History of Ely,
p. 135.

Hervey's primary object was evidently to relieve himself and his successors from every obligation from which relief was possible, without much consideration for the peculiar wants of the monks; and his influence with the King was used chiefly to release the bishopric from any burdens which threatened to swallow up too large a portion of its revenues. He threw on the monks the whole charge of the fabric of the church, but at the same time he gave them all the profits of fines, forfeitures of their tenants, and other casual advantages arising from their manors, and helped them to recover valuable estates of which they had been either wholly or partially plundered. Abbot Symeon, as has been shown, had attempted to save the rights of the brethren by a compromise with the Norman adventurers whom he could not eject from Abbey lands; but these freebooting soldiers had neglected to abide by the terms of their tenure, easy as they were, and without a royal charter these estates would have been entirely alienated.

L. E. iii. 9, 10,
11, 13.

The encroachments on the Abbey had reached such a point, that the bridge which formed the main entrance to Ely, had fallen into the hands of strangers and aliens, who refused to give it up, and would no doubt have held it in spite of both monks and Bishops, if Hervey had not been able to invoke the aid of the King himself.

L. E. iii. 9.

By a payment of £1,000 to King Henry I., from Bishop Hervey, the service of those who were tenants by knight's service, was transferred from Norwich Castle to the Isle of Ely; and by a second payment of £240, the customary scutage due from the Abbey of Ely was reduced from £100 to £60.

L. E. iii. 15,
16, 17.
Madox's Hist.
Excheq., p. 74,
quoted by
Bentham.

The Bishop died on the 30th August, 1131, and the King immediately appropriated to his own uses the revenues of the see; but in 1133, when he was preparing to leave England for Normandy, he was pre-

vailed on to appoint his treasurer, Nigel, as Herve's successor.

Henry I. died on the 1st December, 1135, and the hereditary right to the throne was then vested in his daughter and heiress Maud; but Stephen supplanted his cousin as Henry had his own brother, and threw the country into a state of misery and anarchy. The new Bishop was really a strong supporter of the claims of Henry's daughter, and, like the Pope's legate, recognized her as the rightful claimant of the throne; but her cause was not popular enough to make it advisable for him to avow his real sentiments, and, for a time, he continued to retain, under Stephen, the office of treasurer, which he had held under Henry. However, he soon openly joined Baldwin de Rivers, and others who had espoused the cause of Matilda, and, at the same time, fortified Ely, and repaired the defences at Aldreth:—"Contra regem munitionem in Ely ex lapide et cæmento statuerat firmissimum quod virtute S. Etheldredæ crebro dissolvebatur. Unde ad aquam prope machinas construxit munitionem de lignis factam, aggere cinxit, et Alherede nihilominus reparatum custodiæ mancipavit."

Ang. Sac. i.
620.

Nigel's first open breach with the King took place in 1138, when he was summoned to attend a council held at Oxford. Stephen suspected his fidelity, commanded him to deliver up the castle at Ely, and imprisoned him when the order was disobeyed; but the Bishop escaped from custody, and withdrew to Ely with some of the disaffected nobles. Stephen, however, was far too rapid in his movements to allow the adherents of Matilda time to arrange a well-organized resistance to his usurpation of the throne. He marched his troops rapidly into the fens, passed the river near Aldreth by means of a bridge of boats and hurdles, seized Aldreth, and, before his opponents had recovered

from their surprise at his promptness and determination, was master of the isle, although a small body of resolute men, under an able leader, might easily have held in check the whole of his army. Nigel escaped, and made his way to Matilda, at Gloucester. The monks contrived to satisfy Stephen of their entire devotion to his throne, and obtained from him several charters confirming them in their possessions; but the soldiers of Nigel were compelled to surrender Aldreth to the troops of the King, and the property of the see was diverted, as usual, to the royal exchequer.

Stephen seems to have remained at Ely for some time, and one of his charters, the only one found with the date of his regnal year, was signed there.

After Stephen was captured at Lincoln, in 1141, Nigel recovered possession of his castle at Ely; and in 1144, when the Bishop was at Rome, the isle was held against the King by Geoffry de Magnaville.

At this time, it is evident that the most practicable entrance to the isle was the Aldreth causeway, or bank, and Nigel's "agger" there was probably an outwork of his castle at Ely. There are no remains of this castle, but the entries in an old survey of the town imply that it stood near the river, and that it was connected with a bridge called Castelbrigge, or the Stonbrigge, and with a wharf known as Castellhithe. One of the wards of the present city is still called Castle ward.

In Henry the Second's reign the numerous castles built by disaffected persons during Stephen's usurpation were seized and dismantled; and it is extremely likely that the castle at Ely was one of those which were then destroyed; but there are frequent references to it, or to its site, in the rolls of the monks, as for example:—
 "Item. In potatione carientium meremii ad ripam castelli, iiij^d.

L. E. iii. 62.

L. E. iii. 49,
53, 63, 70, 75,
87, 113.

L. E. iii. 64.

Ang. Sac. i.
620.

Chronology of
History, by Sir
Harris Nicolas,
p. 297.

L. E. iii. 76,
77.

Sacrist's roll,
17 Ed. II.
 { 8 July, 1323. }
 { 7 July, 1324. }

CHAPTER VIII.

SURVEY OF ELY OUTSIDE THE WALLS OF THE PRIORY
IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THE town without the walls of the Priory has undergone very little change in its main features during the last 450 years. In the fourth year of the reign of Henry V., a survey was made of every cottage, tenement, and close it then contained, with the addition, in many cases, of the names of the tenants.* It was drawn up during the bishopric of John Fordham, who was a favourite of King Richard II., and appointed Lord Treasurer by him in the year 1386. He died Nov. 19, 1426, at Downham, and was buried in S. Mary's Chapel, at Ely. There are some particulars of his funeral in the roll of the Sacrist for that year:—

4 Hen. V.
{ 21 Mar. 1416. }
{ 20 Mar. 1417. }

“De ij^{iiij^{li}} equis, venientibus in j litera equina cum corpore domini Johannis Fordham Episcopi Eliensis hoc anno, simul cum ij^{lxvjs. viij^d} pannis aureis, et aliis diversis pannis nigris, et j^{xiijs. iiij^d} coverlith blodi coloris, ac eciam cum^{xlvijs.} xxiiij cereis, vocatis torches ad scpulturam corporis sui, xli. viijs.” . . .

Sacrist's roll,
5 Hen. VI.
{ 1 Sept. 1426. }
{ 31 Aug. 1427. }

The curious record just mentioned begins with a list

* Two copies of this inquiry exist in the British Museum.

In one of them the perch used by the surveyors is said to be the usual measure of sixteen feet and a half:—“Perticata mensur' per sex decim pedes et dimidium per standardum Regis.”

In the other a different definition is adopted, and the measures are said to have been taken:—“Per perticatam xvj pedum di pauli mensura^l.”

Brit. Mus.
Harl. 329.

of the lands and tenements lying between the High Bridge and Castelhythe, or Castelbrigge; and the first paragraph is a description of the boundaries of an open field, called the Briggemead, which extended for 51 perches along the track from Ely to Stuntney. Adjoining to the Briggemead there was a holt belonging to the Seneschall of the Prior's hospice; and between the holt and the hythe there were some tenements attached to the offices of the Sacrist and Eleemosinarius.

“Una vacua placea vocata Briggemedē incipiens juxta altum pontem, et durans* usque ad unum holtum pertinentem Sen....hospicii domini prioris, et continet in longitudine a magna ripa usque ad dictum holtum cum fossatis existentibus inter dictum Briggemedē et dictum holtum quinqueinginta unam perticatas per calcetum inter Ely et Stunteneye. . . .”

The name of Briggemead has not entirely disappeared, but is now given to a field near the railway station, and figured No. 1 in the map, Plate 1. On crossing the river from Soham towards Ely, the first field on the right hand is called the Bridge Reeve's meadow. The office of Bridge-reeve, or Custos alti pontis, is now held by the Organist of the cathedral, and some of the duties once performed by this officer are mentioned in a list of Liberationes, or allowances, made to the officers of the convent in the 15th century, which is preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace.

The word Liberacio, or Liberatura, meant originally, cloth which was delivered to servants or retainers, as part of their wages, and gave rise to the modern term Livery; but it was also used to express food, or anything that was given as part payment of the salaries of dependents, and is used in this general sense in the following transcript of the regulations in force at Ely during the reign of Henry the Sixth:—

Iste sunt liberationes panum et servisie extra officium Granatarie qualibet septimana, ac aliis certis diebus, et temporibus anni, secundum consuetudinem et usum moderni temporis ad festum sancti Michaelis Archangeli, anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Jesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo octavo.

Refectuarius recipit, qualibet septimana, septem panes monachales.

Elemosinarius iiij panes militares pro mandatis:

Sacerdos elemosinarii vij panes monachales.

Orficiarius vestiarii vij panes monachales.

Lotrix, qualibet septimana, iij panes blakwyte.

Clericus supprioris, cum supprior comederit in refectorio, eo die recipit j panem blakwyth.

Lotrix conventus, cum suspenderit dominico die manutergia ad lavacra in claustro, habet j panem blakwyte.

Parliator, qualibet septimana vij panes prykket et vij trenchs.

Portarius vij blakwyth et vij prykket.

Bigator vij blakwyth et vij prykket.

Elemosinarius vij trenchs.

Custos granariorum xiiij prykket.

Gardinarius infirmariæ vij prykket et vij trenchs.

Cocus conventus vij prykket.

Potagiarius ibidem vij prykket.

Clericus hostilarie monachorum vij prykket.

Squylo^r in coquina conventus vij trenchs.

Septem pauperum quilibet eorum omni septimana vij trenchos.

Aquæ bajulus, qualibet dominica, j panem militare.

Brevitor quilibet adveniens j panem monachalem.

Campanarius circuens villam pro solempni anniversario j panem monachalem.

Pulsatores magnarum campanarum quolibet principali festo j panem monachalem, et j panem blakwyte, ac j trenchos.

Faber ad tria festa principalia, scilicet Natalis Domini, Pasche, et translationis beate Etheldreda virginis, j panem monachalem.

Custos alti pontis, cum subtraxerit pontem pro domino priore in le Barge navigante, j parvum panem album et j panem blakwyte.

Liberatura Servisiæ.

Elemosinarius percipit qualibet septimana v mettis bone servisie et vij mettis debilis servisie.

Sacerdos Elemosinarie vij mettis bone servisie.

Orficiarius vestiariæ vij kariteys bone servisie.

Portarius vij cariteis de mediocri servisia.

Bigator vij cariteis de mediocri servisia.

Gardinarius infirmariæ vij cariteis mediocris servisiæ.

Lotrix iij cariteis de mediocri servisia.

Custodes trium altarium quilibet eorum iij cariteis mediocris servisiæ.

Parliator vij cariteis de Skegman.

Clericus hostiliaræ monachorum vij cariteis de Skegman.

Coquinarius vij cariteis de Skegman.

Cocus conventus vij cariteis de Skegman.

Potagiarius vij cariteis de eadem.

Squylio ibidem vij cariteis de eadem.

Cissor de Sawtr' vij cariteis de eadem.

Brevitarius quilibet adveniens j mette bone servisie.

Campanarius circuens villam pro solempni anniversario j mette bonæ servisiæ.

Faber ad tria festa principalia scilicet Natal' Domini, Paschæ, et Translationis sanctæ Etheldredæ virginis j mette bonæ servisiæ.

Custos alti pontis cum subtraxerit pontem pro domino priore in le barge navigante j carite bonæ servisiæ.

Septem pauperes quilibet eorum vij caritis de Skegman.

In hiis festis debent Seriawntys (?), Parliator, et clerici trium Altarium comedere in refectorio et habere petancias. Videlicet.

In festo Natalis Domini seriawugtis (?) parliator et clerici cum petanciis.

Sancti Johannis Evangeliste seriawn^t, pe^t et omnes.

Passionis sancti Thomæ petanc' clerici altarium et parliator.

Epiphaniæ Domini pe^t . . . seriawn^t omnes.

Depositionis sancti Benedicti clerici altarium parliator.

In festo sancte Paschæ seriawn^t.

Ascensionis domini seriwan^t.

Sancti Albani pe^t.

Pentecostis seriawn^t.

Depositionis sanctæ Etheldredæ pe^t. . . . seriawn^t.

Apostolorum Petri et Pauli pe^t seriawn^t.

Translationis sancti Benedicti pe^t.

Sancti Ethelwoldi episcopi.

Assumptionis beatæ Mariæ seriawn^t.

Dedicationis ecclesiæ pe^t seriawn^t.

Translationis sanctæ Etheldredæ pe^t seriawn^t.

In festo omnium sanctorum pe^t seriawn^t.

Sancti Martini episcopi.

Sancti Edmundi regis pe^t.

Sancti Nicholai episcopi pe^t.

In istis diebus omnibus debent parliator et clerici trium altarium comedere semper in refectorio; sed seria-wuti nisi in diebus supra dictis intitulatis."

The mention made in these liveries of bread, of the duties of the bridge-keeper, confirms the conjectures made respecting the approaches to Ely from the south in the middle ages.

As the surveyors commenced their measurements "ab alto ponte," it may be assumed that they selected that spot because it was one of the main entrances to the city best suited as a starting-place for their inquiry.

The meadow of the Bridge-reeve, the holt of the Prior's chamberlain, and the tenements of the Sacrist and Eleemosinarius, are described as lying in order between two bridges, with a general south frontage along the track between Soham, or Stuntney, and Ely. The meadow extended for 51 perches, and the tenements $26\frac{1}{2}$ perches further, along the causeway. The tenements ended near the stone bridge, and were probably bounded by the stream which the stone bridge crossed.

The actual words of the Survey with respect to these tenements are tolerably precise:—"Jacent inter dictum Briggemead et corneram juxta Stonbrigge, et continent per dictum calsetum viginti sex perticatas et dimidium in frontibus versus austrum, et a dicta cornera versus boream usque ad unum commune fossatum una cum tenemento Johannis Gedney pertinenti Eleemosinario novem perticatas, et omnia tenementa predicta abuttant super commune fossatum predictum ex parte boreali."

The Bridge-reeve's meadow has been pointed out in the map of Ely as the southern portion of a triangular piece of land which is now bounded on the east by the river, on the west or south-west by the Soham road, and on the north by a short street now called Ansdale, which is probably a corruption of an older name, Auntresdale, found in the survey. The tenements which the surveyors measured were nearer to Ely than the meadow, and their site is now represented by the partly modern houses which occupy the north-west angle of this three-sided area.

The whole plot of ground was, in the fifteenth cen-

tury, surrounded by water, and one part of it is, even now, described in title-deeds as The Island. Its ancient boundaries were the Ouse, Caldwell fen, and a stream which ran from this fen into the river, through Auntresdale. Traces of this watercourse have been found and examined in very recent times, and a modern catch-water drain beneath the road still connects the river with the low land about the railway station.

The Stonbrige, or Castelbrige, was no doubt thrown across this stream, and the open space which still remains on what was the north bank is probably the site of the Castelhithe. The Soham road is evidently the modern representative of the monks' causeway, or *calsetum*, which was carried across the island from the stone bridge to the draw bridge. These old arrangements are partly shown in Speed's map of Ely.

The Bridge-reeve, or *Custos alti pontis*, had a house on the island, the site of which is known, and he seems to have been the guardian of this entrance to the Priory.

A narrow piece of land with a frontage in Auntresdale is called The Potteries; and it will be seen a few pages further on, that a lane not far from the stone bridge was called Potter's Lane even before the survey was made.

It is possible that the stone bridge referred to was the one built in the reign of Edward III., which led to the dispute between the Sacrist and the executors of Bishop John de Hotham, which has been already noticed. When the Bishop was living, there was somewhere in this part of the city a wooden structure called the great bridge, which had certainly existed in the reigns of the First and Second Edward. This fact is pretty well established by the Sacrists' rolls. For example, "*Pro xxvij bordis de Sapo ad magnum pontem vijs. x*l*. ob.*"

Page 105.

Sacrist's roll,
30 Ed. I.
{ 20 Nov. 1301. }
{ 20 Nov. 1302. }

Sacrist's roll,
16 Ed. II.
{ 8 July, 1322. }
{ 7 July, 1323. }

The same officer purchased an iron staple and bolt for it, in the sixteenth year of the Second Edward's reign, when all the bridges along the Soham causeway were repaired, and the track itself mended with rushes:—"In uno stapulo ferri empto pro magno ponte *j℥. ob.*" "In *j serura pro eodem ij℥. ob.*;" and the history of the destruction of this approach to the Priory, and of the building of another and stronger bridge, is found in the Sacrist's accounts, during a later reign.

13 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1339. }
{ 24 Jan. 1340. }

In the 13th year of Edward the Third's reign, an unusual storm of wind and rain happened during the winter, and did great damage at Ely. The thatch was blown off the dormitory, and the great bridge was almost swept away by the waters, the timbers being saved by the exertions of the men employed at the Grange at Stuntney:—"Dati famulis ad grangiam et aliis vigilantibus et laborantibus pro magno ponte salvando custodiendo et defendendo tempore glaciei, *ijs.* In *iiij duoden' cleyarum empt' apud Novum Mercatum pro capite pontis salvando, viijs.*" The winter flood did more mischief than could be easily repaired, and in the same roll there is the following account of charges incurred in building an entirely new bridge:—"Constructio novi pontis. In *iiij millenis de Waltyl emptis apud Wysbeche cum cariagio pro ponte ad ripam castri inde faciend', xvjs. ij℥.* In *ij millenis de Waltyl emptis apud Lenne pro eodem cum cariagio, vijs. iiij℥.* In arena fodienda pro predicto ponte, *vj℥.* In *ccc petris de sext foth' emptis pro eodem, xxxvjs. viij℥.* Pretium centum, *xijs.*; plus in toto, *viij℥.* In *iiij fother' calcis combusti emptis ad idem, vjs. viij℥.*, precium fother', *xx℥.* In stipendiis trium cementariorum pro predictis petris fabricandis ad idem per *v septimanas, xxvs.*; quilibet capiens per septimanam, *xx℥.* In stipendio operariorum deservientium eisdem per idem tempus, *xjs. ij℥.*; preter carpentarios facientes cintours

et alia necessaria ad eundem ; et preter meremium et bordum, clavos et cariagium. Item. In curialitate data cementariis operariis ad predictam pontem per vices, ijs. Summa, cvs. vijd̄." This new bridge probably replaced the rude wooden structure previously mentioned, which had been worn out by the weight of the heavy materials carried over it for building the new campanile. It was built, as has been shown, partly if not wholly at the cost of Bishop John de Hotham, and, as its position was "ad ripam castri," it is not unlikely that it was the stone bridge mentioned in the survey.

In a roll of later date, 10th Henry VII., there is evidence that other bridges were maintained at that time on the same side of Ely, when the waters were running in various channels, since filled up. For example :—
 "Custus calceti. In stipendio Johannis halpeny conducti pro calceto de Stuntney ac magna ponte die et nocte servando, et attendentis sibi pro capitibus pontium ibidem cum meremio exaltandis per annum, xxs." After an entry relating to the cost of sand brought from "le gravel pitte usque altam pontem," to mend the Soham causeway, occurs the following one :—
 "Soluti Ricardo Dente et Willelmo Wryght, carpentariis operantibus super altam pontem et parvas pontes ibidem cum una ponte super dictum calcetum de novo faciendo, per xij dies ad viijd̄. per diem, inter se, viijs." The high bridge mentioned in this passage is clearly connected with the Stuntney or Soham calcetum, and may represent that which is so described in Fordham's Survey. There was a similar bridge at Aldreth under the Sacrist's charge three years after this survey of the town was made, in the 7th Henry V. "De piscaria iij partis in alta ripa in Strethamere, et alti pontis de Alderheth voc' Almanywater :—nichil ;" an entry which is repeated in the 5th year of Henry VI.

10 Hen. VII.
 { 22 Aug. 1494. }
 { 21 Aug. 1495. }

7 Hen. V.
 { 21 Mar. 1419. }
 { 20 Mar. 1420. }

5 Hen. VI.
 { 1 Sept. 1426. }
 { 21 Aug. 1427. }

Bishop Northwold made over the church revenues of

Lambeth MSS.
448.

Wentworth to the Sacrist, as a provision for the repairs of the causeway and bridges between Ely and Soham, the balance to be applied to the preservation of the new fabric of the Church at Ely which he had built:—"Idem Hugo contulit ecclesiam de Wyntworth ita quod x marcæ annuatim assignentur de dicta ecclesia per manum sacristæ Eliensis, qui pro tempore fuerit, ad reparacionem pontium et calceti de Saham, et totum residuum dictæ ecclesiæ ad sustentacionem novæ fabricæ ecclesiæ Eliensis."

Some of these bridges, if not all of them, had toll-keepers, who paid to the Sacrist annually the tolls collected from passengers, and received, like the Custos alti pontis, on great occasions, liveries of bread and beer from the keeper of the grange at Stuntney, or Ely, or from the Eleemosinarius.

Sacrist's roll,
26 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1352. }
{ 24 Jan. 1353. }

The tolls of the great bridge appear amongst the annual returns of revenue made by the Sacrist, as for example:—"De magno ponte cum prato adjacente, xvjs. iiij*d*."

The drainage of the fens and the formation of roads have, of course, done away with most of the water-courses and bridges which evidently abounded in Ely during the fifteenth century, but, as far as lanes and streets are concerned, the alterations are not so great; the old ones remain without many changes, retaining their original names in spite of the attempts made to supersede them by new ones.

The inquiries of the surveyors were, in the first instance, directed, as has been seen, to the tenements lying between the two bridges:—"Ab alto ponte usque Castelhithe."

They crossed the stone bridge, or Castelbrigge, and still going northward along the highway, examined a second plot of tenements, which extended from Castelhithe to Potter's Lane:—"A Castelhithe (Castelbrigge)

usque Potter's Lane per altam stratam." This lane is the first lane on the left-hand side of the road from the railway up the back hill, and was so called from a potter who had once lived there—"ubi domus figuli quondam situata fuit." On the south side of Potter's Lane there is a narrow street, known as Croyle's Lane, which runs south to Caldwell Ditch. It appears in the Survey as Groyle's, or Croyle's Lane, and is defined as "jacentis ex parte australi dicti Castelhithe, inter Calde- well fen et Potter's Lane."

Caldewell fen was the tract of land between the river, the bottom of Barton farm, and Caldwell ditch. The modern names are Cawdle fen and Cawdle ditch.

A good deal of the Cawdle fen land was taken for the Great Eastern Railway.

The tenements in Potter's Lane are described as they stood on the east and west sides; and on the west side stood a tenement called the Duffhousyerd, or Dofhowsyerd, which was left to the monastery by Robert Huderyer. The site is marked No. 6 on the map, Plate 1, and is yet known under its old designation.

The rent of this tenement was received by the Sub-prior:—"Compotus patris Simonis Botolf, supprioris ac custodis communis thesauri et gardini vocati Duffhousyerd;" but a portion of it was spent in pittances for the monks, according to the will of its former possessor.

13 Hen. VII.
{ 22 Aug. 1497. }
{ 21 Aug. 1498. }

15 Ed. IV.
{ 4 Mar. 1475. }
{ 3 Mar. 1476. }

"Notandum est quod duo monachi sacerdotes juniores onerandi sunt celebrare, senior pro Roberto Huderyerⁱ sacerdote a^l Nicholaⁱ clerk Wylbertoun qui contulit nobis *ch*, et unum gardinum cum columbare et stangnis in eodem vocatum Dofhowsyerd. Et ordinavit quod quamdiu dictum gardinum cum pertinenciis valeret per annum, xxs., conventus perciperet annuatim ad petanciam, xiijs. iiij^d. Et monachus sic cele-

Lambeth MSS.
448.

brans ad festum sancti Michaelis pro eo reciperet a custode ejusdem gardini, vjs. viij*l*. Hæc confirmavit anno Domini, 1361. Item. Junior sacerdos celebraret pro Bartolomeo Bradfeld nichil capiendo."

From Potter's Lane to the gate of the Barton manor, the tenements on the southern side of the road were the property of the Bishop, and amongst them stood a house belonging to the keeper of the Columbare, mentioned above. This is included in the plot marked 6 in the map.

Nearly opposite to the east end of Potter's Lane is a long, dirty street, running almost parallel to the bend of the river, and forming on one side the limit of the present College Close. An attempt has been made latterly to call it Parliament Street, but it is much better known by the old name of Broad Lane, which is used in the Survey. From the west end of this street to Walpols Gatehouse there was, as at present, a series of tenements abutting on the regia via on one side, and the Prior's vineyard on the other, for all the southern part of the close was known at that time as the Vinetum Prioris. Among the tenements, in this part of the city, was a horse-mill, the property of Edmund Cotermunger.

Sacrist's roll,
16 Ed. IV.
{ 4 Mar. 1476.
 3 Mar. 1477. }

In the fifteenth century the south side of the Prior's vineyard was occupied, very much as its site is now, by houses which then belonged to various officers of the Priory, the Almoner, Treasurer, Infirmary-keeper, and Chaplain of the Lady Chapel. The only opening mentioned by the surveyors was the gate of the vineyard. Broad Lane bends to the north-east, and meets what is now called the Forehill, but this name does not occur in the Survey. The lane came to an end at a spot called Broad Lane's end, and then all the tenements were reckoned from a house called Wyssetres, which stood at the corner:—"A dicto tenemento

Wyssetres a cornera de Brodlandesend usque ad murum sacristarie qui est de feodo episcopi." Broad Lane, according to this entry, seems to have stopped where it does at present.

The southern side of Broad Lane was, and is, broken up by a series of lanes which run down to the water's side. The Survey commences at the north-east end, and proceeds towards Castelhithe, enumerating the houses, &c., in Flex Lane, Baldok's Lane, Barker's Lane, Wynferthyng Lane, and a small one, "*parva venella*," called Ferowes Lane. Between Barker's Lane and Winfarthing Lane was a tenement called Seghwyk, or Schegwyk, lying between the street and the river, which is at present amongst the leasehold property of the Dean and Chapter:—"Tenementum vocatum Seghwyk abuttat super latam ripam versus orientem et super Brodelane versus occidentem." The name is found in Sacrists' rolls of much earlier date than this survey, for example:—"In via apud le Seggewyk straminanda, pro petra carienda, vij*l.* ob." Near the entrance of this property there was a common drain, which may have been one of those which went from the priory buildings to the river:—"A communi guttera prope portas de Segwyk." All these lanes may be found easily on reference to the map. In connection with the same part of the city was a tenement, then empty, called Le Storyeserde, or Storyerd, situated between the corner of Baldok's Lane and Barker's Lane:—"Tenementum vacuum vocatum le Storyeserde, pertinens capelle beate Marie cum uno gardino in fine orientali ejusdem extendent⁹, usque Monkysithe." The monks kept timber and building materials in this yard:—"In cc pedibus de Popil bords emptis, iiijs. In conventionone facta cum uno carpentario pro quadam nova camera, longitudinis xiiij pedum et latitudinis xij pedum, in quodam tenemento prope hos-

Sacrist's roll,
16 Ed. II.
{ 8 July, 1322. }
{ 7 July, 1323. }

Roll of Custos
Capellæ, B.M.
Virginis.
18 Ed. IV.
{ 4 Mar. 1478. }
{ 3 Mar. 1479. }

picium Sancti Johannis faciend' et carpen' in grosso, vs. In meremio dict' dom' ex le Storyerd ad fund' cariendo, viii*l*." Monkys hithe must therefore have been somewhere about the end of Barker's Lane, and the storeyard connected with it was, it may be supposed, reserved for the private use of the abbey, or, very likely, let to the merchants who came to the great fairs, at which all the business of the district was then transacted.

What is now termed the Forehill sweeps round from the end of Broad Lane to the Quayside in a southern direction, and has not been much changed, except in name, from the general arrangement it followed in Bishop Fordham's time. The tenements are entered in the Survey as they succeeded one another from the corner of Brodlandesende, towards what was called Brodhithe, and are said to abut on Flex Lane, as they do now. One tenement was situated between Monkeshithe and Barker's Lane, with a frontage, "*versus altam ripam*," which is intelligible enough, but the opposite boundary laid down by the surveyors, "*et abuttat super communem ripam*," is not easily pointed out.

Brodhithe seems to be the old name for what is now the quay; and Monkys hithe must have been a little higher up the river. All the property across the river, in what is now called Babylon, belonged to the Bishop: — "*Omnia tenementa ultra aquam pertinent domino Episcopo*." The tenements on the east side of Forehill were said to lie between Brodhithe and Lile's or Lilles' Lane, which is now known as Bull Lane, and some of them abutted upon another hithe, Stokhithe, which was lower down the river than those which have been mentioned.

Bull Lane, and Bull Lane Close, were called, in Henry the Fifth's time, Lile's Lane and Lile's Close, which was a large area, or estate, extending from the modern Bull Lane as far as the fens and the river,

or Stokhithe. The whole of this property fell into the hands of the Priory while this Survey was being made out. It was a bequest to the monks from John and Albreda Pilet, to which the following conditions were attached :—"Johannes Pilet et Albreda fecerunt unum cereum in ecclesia Eliensi coram feretro sanctæ Etheldredæ singulis diebus in perpetuum tempore altæ missæ accensum et ardentem. Item. Alium cereum in capella beatæ Mariæ continue accensum et ardentem dum missa ejusdem in eadem capella celebretur. Et quod dies anniversarii eorundem Johannis et Albreda teneatur sollempnitus singulis annis cum anniversario fratris Johannis Buctoun prioris ecclesiæ cathedralis Eliensis. Item concesserunt nobis unum messuagium vocatum Lylis place cum omnibus eidem pertinentibus, ita quod omnes redditus et proventus ejusdem provenientes debent tantummodo solummodo expendi pro anniversario supradicto, et non in aliquos alios usus, etc.

Lambeth MSS.
448.

"Anno regni regis Henrici quinti quinto."

Albreda Pilet had some property in Broad Lane, which also passed into the possession of the convent.

The four hithes mentioned, Castelhithe, Monkys-hithe, Brodhithe, and Stokhithe, must have occupied nearly the whole north bank of the river, and they were, no doubt, connected with corresponding warehouses, or storeyards. One of the wards of the city is still called Broadhithe ward. Another staith, known as the common staith, was in the time of Edward the Fourth connected with Castelhythe, but is not mentioned in this Survey. It is referred to in a Sacrist's roll for the sixteenth year of Edward's reign :—"De Redditu assise in Ely, ultra ijs., pro uno tenemento juxta comyn stathe versus Castelhythe, xijs. xjd. ob."

Sacrist's roll,
16 Ed. IV.
{ 4 Mar. 1476. }
{ 3 Mar. 1477. }

The same entry is found in a Sacrist's roll dated in the tenth year of Henry the Seventh's reign, with the variation of "comon stathe" instead of "comyn stathe,"

and it is repeated in the rolls of Henry the Eighth's reign.

These quays and storehouses were necessary for the convenience of merchants, and were also a source of revenue to the monks at the time of the great fair.

Bishop Hervey procured for the monks the privilege of holding a fair during seven days in the year, that is for three days before the Festival of Ætheldreda, on the feast, itself, and for three days after it: and the privilege was a very important one, for when roads were badly kept, besides being few in number, these fairs were the only commercial marts at which the wants of a scattered population could be supplied. Buyers and sellers flocked to Ely, Steresbrigge, Bernewell, or Reche, and made their purchases for the year, just as merchants, even yet, attend the great continental fairs which have not been discontinued.

But in these annual gatherings, when rich and poor, young and old, thronged the hostels of the city, it was not business alone that brought visitors to the Priory. When the East Anglian girls went to the Ely fairs, it was to seek stalls provided with wares more tempting to them than ironwork and carpentry. And when the fair was ended, and its business and merrymaking over, they carried homewards the bright-coloured silken necklaces, called Ætheldreda's chains,* which, if not memorials of pilgrimages to the shrine of the Abbess, were tokens of visits to the metropolis of the fens.

Merchants generally exhibited their goods and met their customers in the convent parlour, which was "a place for marchants to utter their waires, standing

* *Solent Angliæ nostræ mulieres torquem quendam ex tenui et subtili serico confectum collo gestare, quem Ætheldredæ torquem appellamus, forsā in ejus quod diximus memoriam:—Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica Auctore Nicolao Harpsfeldio. Septimum Sæculum, Cap. 24.*

betwixt the chapter-house and the church dour;" but at Ely it seems to have been also the custom to hire shops, or to erect booths, all over the place during the fair week.

Rites of Durham, Surtees Society's Publications, vol. 15, p. 44.

In the church and under the shadow of its walls, along the quays, at the gatehouses, and in the streets, busy salesmen opened their booths and displayed their wares to the fenmen and their families, while the agents of the great commercial firms bargained for their timber and iron with the Sacrist of the Priory:—"In diversis peciis meremii videlicet in stodys, groundcellys, bemys, sparrys, overweys, et aliis emptis de Fox et Briton, in grosso, ad nundinas de Ely, lxvs. xd."

Sacrist's roll,
18 Ed. IV.
{ 4 Mar. 1478. }
{ 3 Mar. 1479. }

The shops were, in some cases, permanent buildings, which were let to merchants for terms of years, and even for a lifetime, the rents being accounted for in the rolls of different officers of the convent. Entries of this kind exist in Sacrists' accounts of the thirteenth century, and in similar documents of later date, down to the reign of Henry VIII. For example:—

"De sendis ad ripam ixs. vjd. De sendis sub capella Philippi xijs. viijd. De duabus sendis sub campanile viijd.

21 Ed. I.
{ 20 Nov. 1292. }
{ 20 Nov. 1293. }

Seldæ emptæ. Infra sacristariam una cum selda aurifabri. Item. Solut' Walfrido de Hadenham mercatori pro jure quod habuit in quadam selda apud le stepil ad terminum vitæ xls. in parte solucionis pro tria seld.

19 Ed. II.
{ 8 July 1325. }
{ 7 July 1326. }

De seldis ad magnam portam in Ely tempore nundinarum nihil.

26 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1352. }
{ 24 Jan. 1353. }

Item. iijs. ij d. ob. de mercatoribus occupantibus ecclesiam cum mercimoniis.

31 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1357. }
{ 24 Jan. 1358. }

Et de xv d. de Johanne Catworth pro iij seldis juxta portam vineti viij d. per annum.

Custos Capellæ,
38 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1364. }
{ 24 Jan. 1365. }

De mercatoribus occupantibus locum in Ecclesia ad festum Sanctæ Etheldredæ vjs. viij d.

45 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1371. }
{ 24 Jan. 1372. }

48 Ed. III.

{ 25 Jan. 1374. }

{ 24 Jan. 1375. }

Roll of

Custos Capellæ,

22 Hen. VI.

{ 1 Sept. 1443. }

{ 31 Aug. 1444. }

16 Ed. IV.

{ 4 Mar. 1476. }

{ 3 Mar. 1477. }

1 Hen. VIII.

{ 22 Apr. 1509. }

{ 21 Apr. 1510. }

De mercatoribus occupantibus locum in Ecclesia ad festum translationis Sanctæ Etheldredæ nihil hoc anno.

Et ijs. de Johanne Crowe capellano pro una selda in cimiterio sancte trinitatis sic sibi dimissa hoc anno.

De ij schoppis infra le Stepilgate juxta cimiterium dimissis tempore nundinarum vs. De aliis ij schoppis ibidem dimissis Roberto Coy cessori ad terminum annorum, xvij^d.

De ij opellis infra le Steplegate juxta cimiterium die nundinarum. De ij aliis opellis ibidem sic dimissis tempore nundinarum hoc anno xiiij^s.

8 Hen. VIII.

{ 22 Apr. 1516. }

{ 21 Apr. 1517. }

De firma iiij^{or} opellarum in Ely in Stepilgate conductarum tempore nundinarum de Ely pro anno xvs."

Receipts of this kind are of regular occurrence in the annual accounts of most of the officers of the Priory, and they show that the builders of our cathedrals had no objection to appropriating certain parts of them to secular purposes. Choristers were lodged in the collegiate church at Stratford-on-Avon, and monks lived over the side aisles of the church at Wymondham. In Queen Elizabeth's days the nave of S. Paul's was notoriously a place where idlers lounged away their time.

When Bishop Alcock converted the nunnery of S. Rhadegund, at Cambridge, into Jesus College, the eastern portion of the church became the college chapel, but the nave was nearly absorbed in the master's lodge.

The Serjeants-at-law, in ancient times, stood at the pillars of S. Paul's, giving counsel to their clients, or waited for them in the Round of the Temple Church.

In Ben Jonson's play of the "Alchemist," there is an allusion to this practice :—

"Here's one from Captain Face, sir ; desires you to meet him in the Temple Church some half-hour hence."

And again :—"I have walked the Round till now."

Butler also, in "Hudibras," alludes to the Round as a place of common resort :—

"Retain all sorts of witnesses

That ply i' th' temples under trees,

Or walk the Round with knights o' th' posts,

About the cross-legg'd knights their hosts."

Having followed the course of the old surveyors as far as the modern Bull Lane, it will be worth while to identify, as far as possible, the localities visited by them in the other parts of the city. The site of the Prior's vineyard is known to have been the southern side of what is now termed the College. On the east of the city, somewhat to the north of Lile's Lane, was the vineyard of the Bishop, the name being still given to some fields in that direction. The entrance to this vineyard was probably somewhere between Lile's Lane and the present market-place. As the plots of ground were measured back to the vineyard, and their frontage towards the street given in some cases, the gate of the Bishop's vineyard was, perhaps, in the east corner of the market-place. The surveyors enumerated the tenements in this part of the old city, from Lile's Lane to the gate of the Bishop's vineyard :—
 "A Liles lane usque ad portam vineti dñi Episcopi." The first, called Kingstede, is thus described :—"Tenementum Johannis Linas vocatum Kingstede existens super corneram australem de Liles lane, continens in fronte per regiam viam duas perticatas, et unam virgam ferream domini Regis." The name Kingstede is not confined to the Survey, but occurs in other documents : for example :—"Et de iijs. receptis de Johanne Buk pro j messuagio vocato Kyngestede hoc anno. Et de xvjs., de Johanne Franke, vijs., et de Johanne Flete, ix., pro duobus cotagiis sub uno tecto super corneram de Liles lane vocatis Kingstede." Another tenement was described under the name of Spillecance :—"Tene-

Custos Capellæ,
 B. Mariæ,
 38 Ed. III.
 { 25 Jan. 1364. }
 { 24 Jan. 1365. }
 Sacrist's roll,
 22 Hen. VI.
 { 1 Sept. 1443. }
 { 31 Aug. 1444. }

mentum Ricardi Tydy vocatum Spillecance," but the site cannot be made out.

From the Bishop's vineyard-gate the Survey was continued along the north-east side of the market-place to the tenement of Thomas Hakwrong, known by the names of Aleykokesyn, or Aleynsyncook:—"A porta vineti Domini episcopi usque tenementum Thome Hakwrong (vocatum Aleykokesyn)." The tenements are described as fronting the "commune forum," and abutting upon Brayes, a manor of the Dean and Chapter, which is now lost, and swallowed up, in the larger manor of Ely Porta. The gates of Brayes were in this line of houses, and the name is still preserved in Brayes' Lane and Brayes' orchard. The grange of the almonry was amongst the buildings in this division of the city, and next to the house of Thomas Hakwrong, which has been just mentioned:—"Tenementum Elemosinarii ubi grangie sue site sunt."

Close to the market-place, at the east end of High Street, was the Bocheria or Butchery:—"Omnes schoppe in Bocheria ex utraque parte ibidem sunt de feodo dni epi." The lane in which the workshop of Mr. Page and the mason's yard of Mr. Fuller are situated, passes through a block of houses which is still called The Butchery. It extended to the lane behind the offices of H. R. Evans, Esq., and close to it, on the north-east, with a frontage in the street, now called Gaol Street, and opposite the lane which leads from Gaol Street to Newenham, originally known as "Brod Lane versus Newenham," were the stalls of the slaughter-houses.

The name Newenham is still given to a suburb of Ely on the east, which was continued as far as an old mill of the Bishop's towards Tibbreseye, or Tirbirsey, and in this direction, leading off Newenham Street, was Blithynghale Lane, which remains to be identified.

It is possible that it may be a lane now called Spring-head Lane, leading down to Mr. Hall's brick-kiln, between the vineyards and Mr. Hall's close ; or else it is a little lane running down from New Barns-gate to the common. This is, however, purely conjectural. The origin of the name Newenham, or Nuneham, seems to be given in the following passage :—"Tenementum Rob. Bosum super corneram australem de Brodlane, voc' Newenham, feodum domini Episcopi."

The Brod Lane, which leads to Newenham, is met by a lane, which is now called Red Cross Street. This, in the time of the Survey, was Schendeforth, or Shendeforde Lane, and on its north side was a tenement called "Prestes Chambr," which is now a leasehold estate, consisting of a messuage and close called Priest's Bower, adjoining the Nutholt close. The tenement at the west end of this lane is said to have extended as far as the Red Cross :—"Usque finem occidentalem ejusdem venellæ versus rubiam crucem." This red cross has been totally destroyed, but it stood at the junction of the lane and Akyrman Street with the Litelport, or Chettesham road, not far from the present Town Hall. The site is marked No. 23 in the plan, Plate 1, and the tradition of the red cross is preserved in the common name of the street. Brayes' orchard, which has been already mentioned, is close to the site of the old cross, but on the opposite side of the Littleport road. The survey was taken from the Red Cross, towards Chettesham :—"A rubea cruce versus Chetesham ex parte occidentali ;" and the first tenement mentioned is "unum gardinum vocatum Brayes' orchard." The "boveria elemosinarii" were in the block of houses bounded by Shendeforde Lane, Brod Lane, the modern Gaol Street, and the Littleport Road, but the Survey does not supply the particulars of the site they occupied. The continuation

of Red Cross Street in a westerly direction is now known as Egremen Street, but it appears in the documents whence these facts are derived as Akermanstrete, or Agemanstrete. It is not improbable that the latter title is the older name of the whole lane, and that it was partially superseded by others in different places, an occurrence which is far from unusual in modern street names. In Sacrist rolls of a later period, viz. the 16th Edward IV. and 10th Henry VII., the following entry occurs :—"Et in decasu redditus unius tenementi in Akyrman Strete juxta rubram crucem, quia combustum est et nondum reedificatur per annum, iijs."

Publications of
Cam. Antiq.
Soc., No. iii.
Ancient Cam-
bridgeshire,
p. 16.

Professor Babington, to whose paper on ancient roads reference has been already made, does not consider this street as any part of the ancient Akeman Street, which passed through Ely and Littleport on its way from Cambridge to Brancaster, in Norfolk. If that road followed the course of the Littleport Road, as it probably did, it must have crossed the Akyrman Street of the Survey nearly at right angles.

Opposite the new gaol is a lane, called Cattes Lane, which has a general east and west direction, and runs from the Chettesham road, nearly parallel to S. Mary's Street, as far as Downham Street. On the south side of this lane, and at the east corner, were the Archdeacon's tenement and garden, having to the south of them the new Rents of the Archdeacon. The tenement stood opposite the stables of the Lamb Hotel, but did not go all the way to S. Mary's Street, as there was a corner house belonging to John Duke, which had an eastern frontage of 3 perches and 9 feet, on the Chettesham road, and 2 perches of south frontage along the road leading to Downham.

The name, S. Mary's Street, never occurs in the Survey, but several of the tenements which joined John Duke's are described as having a frontage along the

high road towards "le Grene," and as abutting on Cattes Lane.

The Green extended from the Bishop's palace, at the west end of the cathedral, to the modern S. Mary's Street; and on the site of a house now in the occupation of J. Muriel, Esq., stood the residence of four chaplains of a chantry founded by Bishop Northwold, in the cathedral, where prayers were to be offered for the repose of the souls of the Bishops and monks of Ely.

Bentham's
History of Ely,
Suppl. p. 88.

Bishop Northwold settled on the chaplains a yearly stipend of twenty marks, to be paid by the Sacrist out of the rents derived from the manors of Branford, or Bramford, in Suffolk, and Totteridge, in Hertfordshire.

The "Regia via versus le Grene," which the surveyors found, was, in their time, a very important road, leading from the priory to Downham, where there was a palace which the Bishops of Ely occupied more frequently than any other of their official residences.

The manor of Downham was a possession of the monks which had been granted to them by Brithnoth and Æthelwold, on account of its fertility and nearness to Ely:—"B Ædelwoldus episcopus vj hydas in Dunham adquisivit quæ villa est fertillissima, et monasterio proxima." The park contained 250 acres in the time of Henry III., and the palace was either rebuilt, or enlarged, in the fifteenth century, by Bishop Alcock; but the only remains of the episcopal residence are a few of the walls, which have been incorporated into modern farm buildings.

L. E. ii. 11.

In the fourteenth century the Bishops of Ely had no less than ten different manor-houses, or palaces, which they occupied in turns:—Wisbech Castle, and the palaces at Ely, Doddington, and Downham, in the Isle of Ely; the manor-house at Hadham, and a residence at Bishops Hatfield, both in the county of Hertford; residences at Balsham and Fen Ditton, both in the

county of Cambridge; one at Somersham, in Huntingdonshire; and a town-house in Ely Place, Holborn.

The survey of the block of tenements on the north-east of the Green was arranged under the following heads:—

“*Ex parte australi de Catteslane usque ad tenementum Archidiaconi Eliensis.*”

“*Ab occidentali parte ubi Nov' Rentes Archidiaconi Eliensis construuntur, usque ad tenementum Johannis Duke.*”

“*A cornera ubi Johannis Duke manet usque ad stratam occidentalem ducentum versus Dounham:*” or, according to one copy of the Survey, “*usque corneram nuper Mepsales ex parte boreali de le stone.*”

In very recent times, a block of stone used to stand at the corner of the Downham Road, where it joins the modern S. Mary's Street, but its uses as a landmark were entirely forgotten. The corner got the name of Mepsale's Corner, from one John Mepsale, who had a house there in 1416. “Le Stone” is used in the Survey as a recognized station, many houses being described as so many perches north of it.

The tenements described on the two sides of Downham Street have no peculiar interest beyond the explanation they give of the origin of the name Smales Corner, which is still applied to the end of a lane which runs from the west side of Downham Street to West Fen. The position of the lane in old times, when it was known as the *Strate de Westfen*, was very much the same that it now occupies. It is mentioned in the following extract:—

“*Ex parte occidentali de Downham Strate. Tenementum Henrici Pope, Tenementum Radulphi Smales, simul jacent ibidem inter cotagium de feodo domini episcopi ex parte boreali, et venellam que ducit versus*

Westfen, vocatam Smales corner, ex parte australi, et continent in frontibus per Regiam viam quatuor decim perticatas minus tribus pedibus.”

Other tenements in this part of Ely were in the occupation of John Smale, and the lane evidently was called after the family.

The surveyors noted the contents of the west side of the “Strate de Westfen” back to Mepsale’s Corner, and then carried on their work from “the corner,” along the main road to Westfen, now better known as S. Mary’s Street, by which route they came to the old hospital of S. John, the history of which is not well known. There were two hospitals at Ely, that of S. Mary Magdalen, and that of S. John, Baptist, which were united about the year 1240. Every trace of the former has vanished, and nothing remains of the latter but a ruin in a field on the north side of the Cambridge road. The two foundations were thrown together by Bishop Northwold, and placed under the charge of the Sacrist; but in 1561, the last Warden, Edward Leeds, Master of Clare Hall, Cambridge, obtained from Queen Elizabeth, with the consent of Bishop Cox, a grant of the foundation to his College, the surrender of the site and buildings being confirmed by the Chapter. The hospital of S. John is mentioned in a Sacrist’s roll of the fifth year of the reign of Henry VI., and it is evident from the entry that a chapel was attached to the hospital at that time:—“De oblationibus in ecclesia hospitalis Scti Johannis hoc anno in Ely ad sepulturam nichil.”

5 Hen. VI.
 { 1 Sept. 1425. }
 { 31 Aug. 1426. }

The ancient road to Wichford turned off from the “Strate de Westfen” close by the site of S. John’s Hospital, and from this hospital the Survey is continued to the grange of the Sacrist. The site of the grange is on the west side of S. Mary’s churchyard, and, as late as October, 1842, a large barn, known as the

No. 34, Plate 1.
 and V. Plate 2.

Publications of
Cam. Antiq.
Soc., No. vii.

sextry barn, was standing there. The building was 291' 6" long, and 39' 5" wide inside, but, on account of their great age, it was expensive to keep the walls together, and they were taken down by order of the Dean and Chapter. This barn must have been erected about the middle of the thirteenth century, and both carpentry and masonry were of the plainest character. Its site is now occupied by some almshouses.

Between S. Mary's Street and the great gatehouse of the college there is a lane, which of late years has been called Silver Street. Its general direction is north and south, and it is better known in Ely as Walpool Lane. The surveyors called it by two names: Swalugh Lane and Walpool Lane, and, in their time, two small lanes ran into it on the north side, Cherche Lane and Lardener's Lane. Lardner's Lane got its name from Isabella Lardner, who lived there:—"Ex parte orientali ecclesie beate Marie (Virginis) tenementum Isabella Lardener jacet ibidem, ex parte orientali cimiterii ibidem, et continet in fronte versus boream unam perticatam et dimidium, et dimid' virg' ferr' (domini Regis) et in longitudine, per parvam venellam ducentem versus Walpool lane, duodecim perticatas minus quatuor pedibus et dimidium, et continet in latitudine ad capud australe unam perticatam. (Sacriste.)" Church Lane retains its place and name, but the other has disappeared altogether.

On the south side of Walpool Lane, and also with a frontage towards the gate of the priory, was Ketenes Place, which still remains a leasehold estate of the Dean and Chapter. It originally belonged to the office of the Celerarius, and was given to him in place of a rent-charge on Denny Abbey, that he might be enabled to meet the expenses of entertaining the guests who came to Ely on the vigil of the feast of Etheldreda, and on the feast of S. Luke. He only undertook to

provide for the humble visitors who came with few followers; while all the guests of importance, who had a suite of thirteen or more horses, were received by the lord Prior.

The estate came into the possession of the monks during the episcopate of Langham, in the fourteenth century:—"Item. Notandum est quod omnes cartæ obligaciones seu instrumenti obligancia tenementa de Deneye, seu Elmeneya, quovismodo ecclesiæ Eliensis sunt cancellanda seu delenda et pro infectis habenda, seu viribus omnibus in perpetuo vacuanda per quandam perpetuam relaxationem . . . prioris et conventus Eliensis signatam cum sigillo communi capituli Eliensis factam sororibus de Deneye minorissis, et cum emolumentis quæ cepit capitulum a dictis sororibus pro dicta perpetua relaxatione perquisierunt quædam tenementa in Ely et Dounham vulgariter Ketenes appellata, quæ tenementorum onera succedant loco onerum quondam tenementorum a Deneye supradicta, et annexa sunt officio Celerariæ ut solet emolumentum de Deneye.

"Et solebat emolumentum de Deneye sustinere onus omnium hospitem apud Ely advenientium in vigiliis utriusque festi sanctæ Etheldredæ virginis, et diei sequentis translationem ejusdem, qui est dies sancti Lucæ Evangelistæ nisi supervenerit aliquis hospes, gravis persona, dominus, seu comes, seu aliquis illustris cum xiiij equis et supra, quia tale onus semper supplevit prioratus de consuetudine. Hæc quo ad Deneye et Ketenes acta sunt tempore Symonis Langham tunc episcopi Eliensis post Cantuariensis deinde Cardinalis."

Lambeth MSS.
448.

The present High Street appears in the Survey as Stepil Row, and was so called from a steeple connected with one of the entrance-gates of the Priory, which stood on the south side of the street.

The tenements were enumerated along the south side

of High Street, from east to west, beginning with one which adjoined the residence of the Sacrist, and ending with one called Kilbye's Corner :—" *Ex parte australi de Stepilrowe (a sacristaria Eliensi usque ad Kilbyes corner).*"

The remains of the sacristy now extend about half way down High Street ; but it is impossible to say whether they ended in Fordham's time where they do at present. The commissioners of Henry VIII. destroyed the monastic buildings so unsparingly that there is no reason to suppose they did not level as much as they could of the residence of one of the chief officers of the priory.

The position of Kilby's Corner is well known. Richard Kilby occupied a tenement at the south-west corner of the old Stepil Row, and the name of Kilby's Corner is now given to the corner house in High Street, opposite the Lamb Hotel. There were twelve tenements, including Kilby's, on the south side of the Row, and the Stepil gateway was in the centre of them, having six to the east and as many more to the west ; but as the frontage of all these tenements is not given, it is useless to attempt to determine by measurement from the Corner, either the site of the gate, or the termination of the Sacrist's buildings.

The present entrance to the churchyard from High Street is, however, about half way between the two stations mentioned in the Survey, and it possibly occupies the site of the old steeple-gate. The plan of the vaults upon which the gate-house is supposed to have stood is laid down in the plan of the monastery, Plate 2 S.

The only tenements whose extent along the Row is given, are those on the two sides of the gateway. These four belonged to the Sacrist, and extended towards the south as far as the churchyard, or ceme-

tery, of the parish church of the Holy Trinity, which at that time was attached to the nave of the cathedral: —“*Quatuor tenementa Johannis Roos simul jacentia ex utraque parte de Stepilgate, videlicet duo tenementa ex parte orientali continent in frontibus per Regiam viam unam perticatam et quatuor virgas ferreas minus uno quarterio virge, et alia duo tenementa ex parte occidentali continent in fronte per eandem viam unam perticatam tres virgas ferreas et unum quarterium virge, et simul abuttant versus austrum super cimiterium ecclesiæ sancte Trinitatis, et continent unam perticatam minus tribus quarteriis virge ferree in longitudine. (Sacriste.)*”

It is very probable that the vaults which remain undisturbed at the supposed site of the Stepilgate formed part of a series, extending all along the Stepil Row, and forming the basement of the houses which the Sacrist and others leased out, as the Survey shows. As some of the houses on the Fore hill, to the east of the Almery also stand on vaults, it is not improbable that the foundation of the enclosure of the priory on the north was constructed throughout on this plan.

The wall forming the north abutment of the vaults in High Street is four feet thick as high as the crown of the vault, but is then reduced in thickness.

A few fragments of the old window jambs of the houses in Stepil Row may still be seen from the churchyard.

The only mention made of the residence of the chaplains of Northwold's chantry occurs in connection with the survey of the south side of Stepil Row. The *Tenementum Capellanorum de Grene* is entered immediately after Kilby's Corner, as if it belonged to a block of houses which was a continuation of the Row westward, although on the other side of the high road. This is

not inconsistent with the statements on the subject quoted from Bentham's Ely, in page 196.

Several of the houses which have been built on the west side of the road to Littleport, opposite to Kilby's Corner, are probably modern encroachments, or rearrangements of the original buildings which stood there in the reign of Henry IV.

On the north side of Stepil Row there were twenty-two tenements, which extended as far as the market-place, the Mariatstede of the surveyors.

The last, or easternmost, was opposite to the kitchen of the residence of the Eleemosinarius, had a frontage of two perches and a half towards the common market-place, and was bounded on the north by the garden of one of the Bishop's tenants.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PRIORY.

THE survey, which has been so extensively quoted, has no reference to buildings within the walls of the monastery, but is confined entirely to the town, or, as in the case of Stepil Row, to tenements which, although in the town, formed also the enclosure of the Priory.

What little we know of the arrangement of the buildings occupied specially by the monks is got from the order of the Commissioners appointed by Henry VIII., in 1531, to parcel them out amongst the members of the modern Chapter elected after the suppression of the monastery, and from a survey, and notes for the survey made by another commission, with a view to determine what buildings could be destroyed or sold, and what could be retained for use. The Commissioners' order, "writ by Mr. John Goodrich," is in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and the survey, together with the notes, dated July 9th and June 21st, 1649, are in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Ely. Some further information is found in the Sacrists' rolls, and in the brief memoirs of Alan de Walsingham, and Prior John de Craudene, which are printed in the "*Historia Eliensis*."

At Ely, as in most English monasteries, the distribution of the main buildings required for the residence of the monks was carefully adapted to the general con-

venience of those who had to live in them, and obey the rules of the order of S. Benedict.

They were built, according to the usual practice, chiefly on the south side of the cathedral, connected together by cloisters and other covered passages, which provided a sheltered access to all the chief halls or apartments within the priory, and finally surrounded by a boundary wall, which was absolutely necessary, not merely to ensure the safety of the monks, but also to maintain that privacy and entire seclusion in which they were supposed to dwell.

Some of the English abbeys, as Whalley and Tyne-mouth, were regularly fortified, and the walls at Norwich and Canterbury were of considerable height and importance; but at Ely the course of the old boundaries of the priory is not accurately known, and especially on the south. As the surveyors in the 15th century took no notice of buildings situated in what is now called the College, it is evident that this area represents the extent of the original priory. There are several gates mentioned in the statutes which seem to have communicated with the town, and for that reason were to be specially looked after by the Prior and Subprior: viz., "*ostium episcopi locutorii, ostium versus cameram celerarii, ostium versus hostilerium monachorum, ostium versus balnearium, ostium versus cimiterium monachorum, et ceteri meatus circa claustrum.*" There was also a gate at the Almerly, "*porta monachorum in Elemosinaria,*" but like all the others, it has disappeared in the general wreck, and left no trace of its whereabouts.

Statuta Monasterii, 17 Kal. Julii, 1300.
Lambeth MSS. 448.

The monastery was intended to accommodate seventy monks, but there were seldom more than forty or fifty in residence, and many of these were, of necessity, holding some of the various offices in the institution, which relieved them, to a certain extent, from the strict

rules of the Benedictine order. After the plague, in 1349, the number, including the Prior, was only 28, and seven years before the dissolution there were only 36 monks and the Prior.

In theory, the monk's life was to be spent wholly within the walls of the priory; for the charm of the whole monastic system was that it offered to those who embraced it a retreat from the distractions as well as the duties of ordinary life.

No letter could be received, and none could be despatched, without the permission of the Prior; nor could any monk absent himself from the services of the Church, or the stated meetings in the refectory and cloister, without express permission.

The injunctions of Bishop Orford, dated in 1306, are extremely stringent upon this subject, and imply that there was considerable difficulty in keeping the rule of the priory as strictly as circumstances required:—"Provideant (Prior et Supprior) eciam quod in choro refectorio et claustro sit sufficiens numerus monachorum prout regula ordinis exigit et requirit, nec aliquis se absentet ab officio divino nocturno tempore vel diurno. Et si aliqui, sine justa causa a Priore vel Suppriori approbata, se abstraxerunt, secundum exigenciam regule aspere puniantur. Caveant insuper Prior et Supprior quod non licenciant fratres ad vagandum per propriam."

As this last regulation was frequently evaded on the plea of sickness, the Prior was ordered to appoint a physician, who was to keep the monks in good health:—"Et ne monachi materiam habeant, occasione egritudinis, evagandi, provideat Prior circa festum sancti Michaelis proximo futurum de aliquo discreto medico et experto qui fratribus infirmis intendat."

A meal in private, a wine party, the rational enjoyments of general conversation, except in the locutorium,

or parlour, were prohibited under a heavy penalty :—
“Sessiones private ad potandum vel garriandum omni loco et omni tempore omittantur.”

If the monks persisted in holding their Parliamenta, or general conversations, at the door of the refectory or near it, they were put on bread and water till they promised better obedience :—*“Parliamenta claustrī maxime que consueverunt haberi ad ostium Episcopi, ad ostium juxta refectorium et ad ostium refectorii et locis aliis ad hoc indiscrete electis de cetero omnino dimittantur.”*

There were circumstances in which the English language was prohibited, and the monks were to speak Latin or French. This rule was laid down by Bishop Fordham in his injunction :—*“De quatuor officiariis minutiones tenentibus. Statuimus etiam et ordinamus quod in predictis minutionibus lecturam habeant congruentem et ad arbitrium præsidentis continuandam, et quod nullus fratrum prædictorum loquatur ibidem nisi duntaxat Gallicum vel Latinum, a verbis et colloquiis vanis in Anglico se penitus abstinentes.”*

Lambeth MSS.
448.

It was a breach of discipline to appear in any other dress than that sanctioned by the Benedictine order ; but it is evident from the injunctions, that there was a great tendency to break through the customs established in the priory. In the statutes, or injunctions, issued in the year 1300 it is laid down :—*“In claustro et ecclesia regulariter utantur frogis, neque utantur quoquo modo habitu superfluo et ordini disconvenienti quemadmodum superius est expressum.”* The monks who were employed on the general business of the brethren, and had the power of leaving and of returning to the monastery whenever they thought fit, were more likely to fall insensibly into the fashions of the day, with respect to boots, seals, jewellery, or silk purses, and against these vanities a special

warning was given :—"Ad hec siquis monachus, cujuscumque preeminencie aut status exigat, nimis curioso seu inordinato apparatu uti presumat, videlicet zonis, aut bursis de serico, seu scutatis cultellis, sigillis, aut hujusmodi jocalibus nimis preciosis, frenis, cellis, calcaribus vel hiis similibus auri vel argenti aut alias superfluum ornatum habentibus ocreis rostratis, vestibis buratis aut varii coloris, vel alias ordini Sancti Benedicti disconvenientibus aut calciamentis indecentibus quorum usus secundum canonicas sanciones et regulam beati Benedicti penitus est interdictus statim liberentur Priori eisdem nullatenus restituenda, sed ipsius arbitrio in utilitatem monasterii libere convertenda."

Statuta Monasterii Eliensis,
A.D. 1300.
Lambeth Palace
Library, 448.

Nor was it as to dress only that the brethren required the watchful superintendence of their Prior and his deputies. They showed a general tendency to indulge in luxuries and personal comforts forbidden to monks, which brought upon them the constant rebukes of their superiors :—"Item. Fiat si quis habeat apparatus pro lecto vel circa lectum nimis curiosum."

No monk was allowed, except by special permission, or when engaged in transacting the necessary business of the monastery, to walk beyond the precincts of the priory, and to mix himself up with secular matters. It was the duty of each to be occupied in reading, writing, and meditation :—"Funto officio in ecclesia seu choro, claustrum teneant omnes ibidem scribendo, legendo, meditando, divinum officium repetendo." But there were so many openings from the priory to the town, that the complete isolation of the brethren was more easily maintained in theory than in practice. The Prior and Suprior were enjoined to see that all the numerous gates were closed and bolted at nightfall, or, to adopt the original instructions of the statutes :—"Horis competentibus, precipue post ignitergium;" but the rule was broken, or evaded. Secular brothers and female friends

Statuta Monasterii Eliensis,
A.D. 1300.
Lambeth Palace
Library, 448.

Statuta Monasterii Eliensis,
A.D. 1300.
Lambeth Palace
Library, 448.

found their way to the church or monastery, and both stimulated and gratified that natural interest in worldly things which no legislation was powerful enough to subdue. Besides the Janitor of the convent, the Parliator acted as the special custos, or doorkeeper, for the cloister, another monk took charge of the refectory, one was appointed to watch over the infirmary, and a fourth attended to the dormitory, each being bound to prevent the intrusion of strangers, whether male or female, as well as to check all needless conversation; but these evils, if such they must be termed, were still prevalent enough to require fresh injunctions as the spirit of obedience to the rule of S. Benedict grew weak:—"Item. Ne frequens accessus secularium et maxime mulierum contemplacionem impediatur monachorum, statuimus et ordinamus quod, inter altare beate virginis et vestiarius, diversorium statim erigatur . . ."

Statuta Monasterii Eliensis,
A.D. 1300.
Lambeth Palace
Library, 448.

In spite of all these precautions, the convent gates were opened at night, and two additional watchmen were provided to prevent thefts and irregularities consequent on such breaches of sound discipline:—"Ad hec quia ad fidedignorum relatum accepimus quod per apercionem ostii vestri monasterii de nocte, ac eciam per incuriam presbiterorum, et secularium clericorum claves ejusdem monasterii servancium indiscrete, grava dampna et pericula graviora retroactis temporibus vestro conventu acciderunt, statuimus, ordinamus et firmiter observari precipimus ut pixis cum corpore Christi et crismatorium cum oleo infirmorum in capella nova juxta vetus campanile situata de cetero reponantur et ibidem sub clavium tuta custodia honorifice conserventur," &c.

Statuta Monasterii Eliensis,
A.D. 1300.
Lambeth Palace
Library, 448.

It is not easy to give an accurate statement of the income of the monastery in the most prosperous periods of its history.

There is no one year for which a complete set of the accounts has been preserved, and the only authentic

returns of the endowments of the priory belong to those two extreme points in its history, when there was the strongest inducement to understate its wealth.

The rent-roll of Ely, when the Domesday-book was compiled, was estimated at 767*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; and at the time of the dissolution the possessions of the monastery were valued at 1,084*l.* 6*s.* 9½*d.* by Dugdale, and 1,301*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* according to Speed.

Supplementary
volume.
Bentham's
History, Supple-
ment, p. 55.

In the ninth year of the reign of Edward III. the receipts of the Treasurers of the Prior and convent, I. de Orewelle et W. de Fresyngfeld, amounted to 861*l.* 11*s.* 10½*d.*, but this sum represents only the rents of estates devoted to the support of their particular department.

9 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1335. }
{ 24 Jan. 1336. }

In the seventeenth year of the reign of Henry VIII., the rents of the priory received by John of Ely, the Senescallus, and William Daniel, the Treasurer, amounted to 660*l.* 15*s.* 9½*d.*: viz., 203*l.* 3*s.* 11½*d.* from manors in Suffolk; 277*l.* 0*s.* 0½*d.* from manors in the county of Cambridge; 169*l.* 15*s.* 9½*d.* from property in the Isle of Ely; 11*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.* from fees and houses in London.

17 Hen. VIII.
{ 22 Apr. 1525. }
{ 21 Apr. 1526. }

The revenues derived from the same manors in the next year were 716*l.* 19*s.* 2¾*d.*

The rents of the estates and the fees assigned to the Sacrist produced in the time of Edward III. an income varying between 200*l.* and 300*l.* per annum. The actual sum received in each of four years of that king's reign,—namely, the 26th, 31st, 45th, and 48th, was 192*l.* 3*s.* 7¼*d.*, 200*l.* 11*s.* 7¾*d.*, 247*l.* 8*s.* 5½*d.*, and 226*l.* 5*s.* 6¼*d.*

The Camerarius, Hostilarius, Celerarius, Eleemosinarius, Infirmarius, Precentor, and Keepers of S. Mary's Altar had also separate estates and revenues, which were accounted for in separate returns.

The Prior, or chief officer of the monks, was originally appointed and removed by the Bishop, to whom

alone he was inferior in authority ; but in later times he was chosen by the monks, who first obtained the Bishop's license to elect, and then presented their candidate to the Bishop for confirmation. An account of the election of Prior Walpol is given in page 240. His residence occupied a very prominent position in the priory, and contained accommodation for the extensive household required by a wealthy ecclesiastic, whose duty it was to offer the hospitalities of the Guest-hall of the priory to the highest personages in the land. As a precaution against the temptations to excessive luxury, which a position of such influence and importance presented even to the best of men, the statutes of the Church required that his establishment should be regulated with a wise moderation and propriety :—"Precipimus in virtute obediencie ut Prior non teneat superfluum et onerosam familiam sed moderatam et honestam quam pro sua discrecione et discrecionum de conventu approbacione secum haberi volumus et teneri."

Bp. Orford's
Injunctions,
A.D. 1306.

Roll of
Senescallus
terrarum,
14 Ed. IV.
{ 4 Mar. 1474. }
{ 3 Mar. 1475. }

The following entry is found in the account of the expenses of visits made by the Prior in Suffolk in the 15th century, and at that time he travelled with a retinue of twenty servants :—"In expensis domini Prioris cum xx servientibus suis pro ij septimanis in partibus Suffolk mense Octobris ultro expensas ad manerium xxxjs."

At Christmas and other festivals, he had his periods of relaxation and feasting, his Ludus, as it was called, when minstrels and players performed before him and the friends whom he invited to share in his recreation.

Roll of
Senescallus
terrarum,
17 Hen. VIII.
{ 22 Apr. 1525. }
{ 21 Apr. 1526. }

"Dona et Regarda. Dati inter histriones in festo translationis s̄cæ Etheldredæ virginis hoc anno xxs. . . . Et diversis hominibus ludentibus coram domino priore ad duas vices hoc anno vijs. iiij*l*. . . . Dati inter lezhensmen domini regis tempore nativitatis domini hoc anno xs. viij*l*."

Similar entries are found in a treasury roll dated two years later :—

“Dati hominibus ludentibus coram domino priore in septimana nativitatis domini, hoc anno vs. iiij*℥*.” 19 Hen. VIII.
 { 22 Apr. 1527. }
 { 21 Apr. 1528. }

“Dati modulatoribus domini Regis ad festum trans-
 lacionis sanctæ Etheldredæ virginis hoc anno xxs.”

“Dona. Dati tribus hominibus de Bekelis ludentibus coram domino infra natale xv*℥*. Dati hominibus de Huntyndon ludentibus coram domino infra natale xx*℥*. Dati iiij ludentibus de Cantabrigia ad tunc ijs. vj*℥*. Dati v ludentibus de Pulham infra natale ijs. Dati iij servientibus domini principis ludentibus ad tunc coram domino iijs. iiij*℥*. Dati iij ludentibus coram domino xij*℥*.” Sacrist's roll,
 16 Ed. IV.
 { 4 Mar. 1476. }
 { 3 Mar. 1477. }

The year in which these players were summoned from Cambridge and Huntingdon, was one in which unusual hospitalities were necessary.

The Queen of Edward VI. had visited Ely, and was probably the guest for whose gratification unwonted entertainments were provided by the Prior. Besides this, the Benedictines had held a general chapter of their order at Northampton, and such important meetings, connected with the interests of the whole body, usually led to visits of policy or friendship between those who held prominent positions in the society.

Two years earlier, the Visitation of the order at Ely had led to special expenses, recorded in the yearly accounts as “Custus visitacionis ordinis.” Presents were evidently made on these occasions to secure the favour of powerful neighbours, and gifts offered to the minstrels who came in the train of the Prior's guests :

For example :—

“Emptio-Stauri. In uno palafrido albo pro domino Priore empto lxxvs. viij*℥*. In uno equo gay (?) am- Roll of
 Senescallus
 terrarum,
 14 Ed. IV.
 { 4 Mar. 1474. }
 { 3 Mar. 1475. }
 belonging apud Stenchworth empto pro stabulo domini
 xxxs.”

Roll of
Senescallus
terrarium,
14 Ed. IV.
{ 4 Mar. 1474. }
{ 3 Mar. 1475. }

“Dona. Dati Broghtton Vicecomiti Cantebrigie ut favorem suam demonstraret Priori Eliensi in quibuscunque casibus xls. Dati uno servienti ejusdem existenti ejus Subvicecomiti pro eodem xiijs. iiij*℥*. . . Dati cuidam ministrallo ceco existenti cum domino in hospicio pro tempore nativitatis. vs. Dati cuidam servienti domini de Northumberland viij*℥*. Dati ij ministrallis domini de Scrop xx*℥*. Dati inter cantantes in capella beatæ Mariæ xx*℥*. Dati quatuor ministrallis domini de Clardni ijs. In diversis peciis de cerico emptis et datis uxori Johannis Wynkefeld xvij*℥*. In uno drespon et uno furco et uno toothpikell argenteis et deauratis invicem annexis et datis uxori Willelmi Alington viijs. viij*℥*. In brochis de furno sanctæ Etheldredæ tam de auro quam de argento inter ipsos datis xx*℥*. Dati cuidam borderde hic existenti viij*℥*. In uno Kercher dato uxori Soliard iijs. viij*℥*. Dati cuidam presbitero de Scocio hic existenti per iiij dies cantanti organis ijs. iiij*℥*. Dati uni sitherat domini de Grey xx*℥*. Dati uni Taborde domini Eboracensis viij*℥*. Dati minist’ domini ducis Norfolk ad festum Pentecostis xx*℥*.”

Some of these entries show that bribes were given in a very business-like way, and without any attempt at concealment.

At the great feasts given during the Visitation, unusual delicacies were served in the guest-hall.

“In ij botoris, iiij heronsewis, ij fesaunts, ij goodwyttys de Bolle erga eosdem emptis ijs. xd.”

Wine was purchased not merely for the use of the table, but to give away as presents:—

“Vinum emptum. In ij vasis vini de Rumney et Malmosia emptis de Spryng cum cariagio xlijs. vj*℥*. In vino empto et dato Woodwylle et Sorori Reginæ ac fratri domini Chamberleyn ijs. ij*℥*. In vino dato Cottun et dominæ uxori xx*℥*. In vino dato Doctori Toune et

Roll of
Senescallus
terrarium,
14 Ed. IV.
{ 4 Mar. 1474. }
{ 3 Mar. 1475. }

Roll of
Senescallus
terrarium,
14 Ed. IV.
{ 4 Mar. 1474. }
{ 3 Mar. 1475. }

al universitatis Cantebrigie cum ipso *xxd.* In vino de Rudston empto super terminacionem visitacionis domini episcopi simul cum expensis diversorum generosorum suorum in villa pernoctantium *ixs. vjd.*"

Malvesey was a wine purchased frequently for the Prior's use. It appears, for instance, in accounts belonging to Henry VIII.'s reign:—

Roll of Senescallus Hospicii,
17 Hen. VIII.
{ 22 Apr. 1525. }
{ 21 Apr. 1526. }

"In vino dulce videlicet Malvesey ad vices empt' hoc anno *xviij. s. vjd.*"

The estates and general revenues of the priory were managed by the Senescallus terrarum prioratus, and there was also a Senescallus terrarum hospicii domini, who was one of the monks appointed by the Prior and convent to act in conjunction with a secular brother, who bore the same title. All the expenses of the Prior's household appear in the rolls of these officers. They paid his physician when he was sick, and the boys who came with presents of game to the Priory:—

"Et magistro Horwood phisico existenti cum domino priore per *vij dies, lxij. s.* Et in diversis medicinis cum speciebus et aliis necessariis emptis pro domino priore tempore infirmitatis sue hoc anno *lxs. ij. d.* . . . In expensis Thome Parker equitantis usque Cant' cum aqua domini Prioris infirmi per *iiij vices, iiij. s. ix. d.*"

Roll of Senescallus terrarum prioratus,
17 Hen. VIII.
{ 22 Apr. 1525. }
{ 21 Apr. 1526. }

"Item. Dati garcioni Willelmi Deen portanti *iiij fasantz et xxv perdic.* . . . Item. Dati venatoribus apud Dounham *vij. d.* Item. In garlek et onions." . . . The Prior had probably received a present of venison from the Bishop's park at Downham, and the keepers were paid for bringing it over to Ely.

44 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1370. }
{ 24 Jan. 1371. }

The records of yearly household expenses which these monks kept are not without value. They give an insight into the domestic life of the wealthy during the middle ages, and they show what is much more important, the changes which have taken place in the value of money. The main supplies of food consisted

then, as now, of beef and mutton, fish and fowl ; but some of the terms for fish used in the priory rolls are evidently local names, for which we have no equivalent.

The following return is copied from a roll dated in the reign of Henry VI., and contains all that refers to the purveyance of food for one year, with the exception of spices. Under this head, however, are included rice, sugar, currants, raisins, and the like :—

Compotus
fratris Petri de
Ely Senescalli
hospicii domini.
24 Hen. VI.

{ 1 Sept. 1445 }
{ 31 Aug. 1446. }

“Emptiones Stauroi. In ix bobus pro stauro emptis ad diversa pretia *vj*l*i*. In xij boviculis pro stauro ad diversa pretia emptis *cxiijs. iiij*l**. In *vj* vaccis pro stauro ad diversa pretia emptis *liijs*. In *ii* carcosiis bovinis ad diversa pretia *xviijs. viij*l**. In *ccvj* ancis pro stauro ad diversa pretia *xlvs*. In *lxxxv* caponibus emptis pro stauro ad diversa pretia *xxiijs. vj*l**. In *xxii* galinis emptis *ijs. vj*l**. In *c* ^{ma. xx}*iiijx* pulcinis emptis *xviijs*. In casio pro conventu empto *ixs. xd. ob*.

“In *v* anocrocolis emptis *iijs. ij*l**. In *c* Dentr’ de *xvj*, *xvii* et *xx* pollicibus emptis pro stauro *lxs*. In *lxvii* stekkes dī de leseles et brewetelis emptis *xxxiijs*. In *c* warp de loble et benge emptis *vj*l*i*. In *xxxij* warpes de mudfysch empt’ pro hospicio *xxijs. ix*l**. In *lxxx* Dentr’ emptis *ijs. vj*l**. In *vj* Tenches emptis *ijs. viij*l**. In *v* roches emptis pro stauro *xs. ij*l**.

“In *xxxvj* anguillis magnis emptis *xiijs. ij*l**. In *Dī* barill de Samon empto *ixs*. In *ij* bz semen cenapii emptis *ijs. xd*. In uno modio cepium empto *vj*l**. In *vij* lagenis mellis emptis *xjs. viij*l**. In uno barell de Samon empto *xviijs*. In *cc* piscibus duris vocatis lenges emptis *iiij*l*i*. In *ii* barell albarum allecum emptis ad *xs. xxxs*. In *vij* meyses rubii allecis emptis ad *vjs. xliis*. In *iiij* bz pisarum viridium empt’ *ijs. ij*l**. In uno apro empto *vjs. viij*l**. In *j* fernedel’ de Sturgeon empt’ *xiijs. iiij*l**. In *xxj* multonibus emptis pro hospicio ad diversa pretia *xxijs. xj*l**. In *xv* porcis emptis pro

bacon, ad ijs. ij*℥*., xxxijs. v*℥*℥. In grene fysz emptis per vices per Martyn xxxiijs. vii*℥*℥. In xxiiij Dentr' empt' . . . advent^o de Ormund vs. iiij*℥*℥. In j fordolen anguillarum empt'. . . Summa xlviij*℥*℥. xvjs. v*℥*℥.”

The Prior's deputies were the supprior and tertius prior, who acted in each other's absence, and regulated the ordinary business of the convent.

At Durham the supprior had a chamber over the dormitory door, whence he could see that no one went in or out without his sanction. He was also bound to see to the security of the doors of the frater, cellar, and cloister. It is not improbable that the Ely supprior and tertius had very similar duties, for no monk could on any pretence leave the precinct without the permission of one or other of them.

Lambeth Palace
Library MSS.,
448.

The chief officers of the convent, after the Prior and his deputies, were the Sacrist, Celerarius, and Camerarius. They were appointed by the Bishop in distinction to the other office-bearers of the priory who were selected by the Prior and the monks.

They had distinct official residences, with separate kitchens, chapels, and all the domestic offices necessary for important establishments. As they held offices of great responsibility, which were well endowed, they enjoyed great freedom from many of the restraints laid upon brethren in less favoured positions.

The duties of the Sacrist were extremely important, as the maintenance of the fabric of the church devolved on him, together with the custody of the plate and ornaments belonging to the altars. Bishop Longchamp left to his office a sheaf of corn from every acre of the episcopal demesnes towards the expense of finding wax candles for the church. This bequest was afterwards commuted for a fixed payment called candlecorn silver. The churches of S. Mary at Ely, and S. Andrew at Cambridge, were both appropriated to the Sacrist, and

Bishop Hugh de Northwold gave him the church at Wentworth, near Ely.

He had considerable property in Cambridge, Wisbech, Elm, Tyd, and various other places near Ely; to which were added the rents of tenements in Ely itself, fisheries, tolls, oblations made in the chapels of the Prior and Bishop, and the proceeds of various privileges vested in him by ancient custom and statute.

In the statutes of the year 1300, his duties are thus defined:—"Item. Sacrista circa fabricam ecclesie et ea que ad officium suum spectant solerter intendat, et omnem diligenciam adhibeat;" but in another of the documents, preserved at Lambeth, the liabilities of the Sacrist are more accurately laid down, and they are contrasted with those of the Bishop, as if with the desire of shewing that Bishop Hervey's attempt to relieve his successors from all charges connected with the fabric of the church, had been resisted and set aside by the monks:—

"Nota quod hæc scripta sunt in rubeo consuetudinario sacristæ, videlicet de ecclesia construenda et officinis, etc. A primis namque fundamentis ecclesiæ statutum fuit quod Episcopus debet ecclesiam construere et feretrum sanctæ Etheldredæ et omnia in ecclesia magnifica et perfecta custodiæ sacristæ deputare ac deinceps resarcire. Et ne vetustate omnino consument de redditibus sibi collatis reparare debet. Item. Capitulum perfectum et officia perfecta quæ adherent ecclesiæ custodire et resarcire debet sacrista et non nova fabricare. Hospicium etenim suum, et grangias suas, et domos, et grangias apud Wynteworth Sacristæ incumbet parare et reparare."

The granges alluded to are those of Ely, Stuntney, Brame, Turbutsey, Thorney, Northney, Quaveney, and Schepey.

The Sacrist's revenues from Turbutsey were derived

from tiles made there, as well as from the sale of ordinary farm produce, for example :—

“De dayrea de Turbutsey ut in compoto pro hoc anno instante patet xxxiij*s*. iiij*d*. De denariis per dictum compotum receptis pro tegulis per ipsum venditis hoc anno cxvii*s*. vij*d*.

Sacrist's roll,
1 Hen. VIII.
{ 22 Apr. 1509.
21 Apr. 1510. }

“De daiaria de Turbutsey sic dimissa per annum lxx*s*. viii*d*. Recepciones. De denariis receptis pro tegulis ibidem hoc anno venditis per dictum computantem ut per librum suum patet iiij*li*. vi*s*. viii*d*.”

Sacrist's roll,
8 Hen. VIII.
{ 22 Apr. 1516.
21 Apr. 1517. }

The cost of food purchased in one year will give some idea of the scale on which the Sacrist's household was conducted.

“Expensæ hospicii.—In iiij quar' salis empt' pro stauro xxix*s*. iiij*d*., pro pec' quar'. vi*s*. iiij*d*. In l greylenges et x lenges empt' lx*s*. pro pec' xij*d*. In xij greylinges et x lynges empt' pro stauro xxi*s*. ij*d*. pro pec' xij*d*. plus in toto ij*d*. In xxij coles empt' pro stauro x*s*. pro pec' v*d*. ob. plus in toto j*d*. In c duris piscibus empt' xv*s*. viij*d*. In v meyses rubri allec empt' pro stauro xxv*s*. viij*d*. pro pec' vs. iiij*d*. In iiij barell allec albi empt' pro stauro xxxvi*s*. pro pec' ix*s*. v*d*. In dimidio barell rumbi empt' xxxvs. In oleo olivi empt' i*s*. In ij carcosiis bovinis empt' pro stauro xvii*s*. pro pec'. ix*s*. In vij carcosiis bovinis empt' pro stauro xlii*s*. v*d*. pro pec' vi*s*. iiij*d*. In xij carcosiis multonum empt' x*s*. pro pec' xj*d*. In carne empto per parcelas pro minutis xs. et non plus hic quia allocatur inferius. In carne empto ut patet per ebdomadas iiij*l*. v*s*. iiij*d*. ob. et non plus hic quia pro expensa minutorum xs. x*d*. ut inferius.

Sacrist's roll,
48 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1374.
24 Jan. 1375. }

“Summa xx*li*. 0*s*. viij*d*. ob.”

The petantia dispensed during the year consisted of salmon, crabs, shrimps, dates, pork, figs, wine, and pastry, which together cost 5*l*. 4*s*. 10*d*.

The spices, rice, and almonds cost 2*l*. 3*s*. 3*d*., the

wine 12*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; and to these sums must be added the probable value of the corn, malt, eggs, fish, flesh, and fowl, which came from the granges of Ely, Wentworth, and Turbutsey, and were accounted for in the following manner:—

“*Compotus Bladi et Stauri receptorum de Grangia de Ely, Wynteworth, Tydbrydeseye, et de decima pro expensis hospicii sacristæ anno xlvij.*

“*Frumentum. De Remanentia. Remanet in granario x qrs vij buss. Et de xvij qrs vj buss frumenti receptis de grangia de Ely per tallium. Et de xx qrs receptis de grangia de Wynteworthe per tallium.—*

“*Summa xlix qrs v buss.*

“*De quibus furnitur pro expensis hospicii hoc anno ut patet per ebdomadas xlvij qrs j buss et remanet in granario j qr iiij buss frumenti.*

“*Pise. Et de vj buss pisarum receptis de grangia de Ely per tallium. Summa vj buss et expenduntur in potagio faciendio in hospicio, et ideo . . .*

“*Avenæ. Et de xiiij qrs iiij buss avenæ recept’ de grangia per tallium. Summa xiiij qrs iiij buss, de quibus in expensis hospicii pro farina facienda pro protagio ij qrs ij buss. In expensis cignorum ij qrs iiij buss. In expensis supervenientium hoc anno ij qrs ij buss. In prebendis pallefridorum et pullanorum per tallium vij qrs iiij buss. Summa quæ supra, et conveniunt.*

“*Brasium. De remanentiis xxij qrs et de ^{xx}iiij ij qrs brasei recepti de ballivo ad grangiam. Summa cv qrs de quibus brasiuntur in hospicio hoc anno per tallium ^{xx}iiij vj qrs vj buss, et tantum hoc anno quia debile, et remanent in granario xvij qrs ij buss.*

“*Staurum. Receptum. De grangia de Ely per tallium contra servientem ibidem ij apri xxvij porci, x porcelli, xlij ance, mlxx ova, lxxij lupiculi. De Wynteworth per tallium contra ballivum j bovis x porci v*

porcelli ij ance ^{xx}xxv capones vj galline, ^{xx}dcv ova ccc columbelle, iiij lagene verjuti et dimid' barell' de musto. De Tydbrydesye contra vaccarium ibidem j vitulus, ij corea vaccarum et ij corea vitulorum. De decima utriusque parochiæ hoc anno v vituli, et vaccarius de Tydbryd de eisdem respondit in compoto suo. Item receptæ ^{xx}iiij x columbellæ, xx ance, ix anates, xxxiiij pulcin', j buss pirarum de Wardonnez ij buss pomorum, ij styks anguillarum, ij styks de Kempes, vj de Roches et de Perches. Item dimidium lagenæ de melle, et totum expenduntur in hospicio, et conveniunt."

Some of the wine which was used in the Sacristy seems to have been bought for many years from a merchant in London, whose name was Fynkel.

The passage which follows occurs in a roll dated in the reign of Edward IV. :—

Sacrist's roll,
16 Ed. IV.
{ 4 Mar. 1476. }
{ 3 Mar. 1477. }

"Vinum. In uno roundle de Masyn de Fynkel empt' cum cariagio xvijjs. In vino empto pro O Sapient' viij*℥*. In vino rebeo et dulci de Rudston pro diversis extraneis et amicis de consilio, et etiam pro hospicio xijs. vj*℥*. In ij pipis vini rebei de Fynkel, ad ij vices, ad vj*℥*. : . . . Quietantia debeti. Soluti Fenkel, London de parte vj*℥*. Memⁿ. debeo pro vino cum vjs. viij*℥*. de parte xls. ob.

"Soluti Sacristæ Eliensi pro una pipa vini de ipso emptâ ut in compoto precedenti istius erga adventum Dominæ Reginæ liijs. iiij*℥*."

The Celerarius was the officer whose business it was to lay in the provisions for the refectory, for which purpose he received an allowance from the treasurer of the monastery, and the rents of certain estates.

In the time of Bishop Hugh de Northwold, the contribution from the treasury was about ten shillings a day. Bishop John de Hotham gave him his manor of Dageny, in Northwold, lands, tenements, and rent

History of the
Conventual
Church of Ely,
by James
Bentham, 2nd
ed., 127.

Lambeth Palace
Library MSS.,
448.

charges in Ely, all the messuages and tenements belonging to him in Thames Street, London, "in quodam vico vocato Temestrete, in parochia omnium sanctorum supra cellarium in civitate London," all his property in Gracechurch Street, "apud Grescherche," and some vineyards and gardens at Holborn, in the suburbs of London, "Item totum clausum suum terræ gardini vinearum pomerii et viridarii tam apud Holborn in suburbis London quam juxta idem suburbium, in comitatu Middelsexiæ, manerie episcopatus de Holborne contiguum," on condition that one hundred shillings were given to the poor of Ely annually on his anniversary, and that a petancia of the same amount was issued to the monks.

By the statutes of the monastery the dietary provided in the refectory was always to be plentiful, and good enough to do away with all excuses for dining at private houses or inns; but there is ground for a suspicion that the refectory dinner was not a popular meal, and that it was avoided on any pretext which the Prior and his deputies were likely to accept as an apology for absence.

This may be inferred from the injunctions issued by the visitor, no less than from the statutes themselves. A Bishop could have had no object in imposing penalties for offences which were never committed. By the rule of the Ely Benedictines, every monk was required to take his daily meals in the refectory, and nowhere else, except in case of sickness; and the Prior had to make a return, shewing how far obedience to that regulation was maintained:—"Item an omnes semper et simul in refectorio comedunt, et an ad mensam legitur. Item an in refectorio carnes comedunt. Item an omnes simul in dormitorio dormiunt," &c.

Lambeth Palace
Library MSS.,
448.

Amongst the Lambeth MSS. is a treatise entitled "De Signis," a manual, in fact, of the various gestures used by the Ely monks, when the injunction of silence

prevented them from expressing their wants by means of ordinary language. The treatise resembles very much one printed in the *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*, and both give the signs employed for different articles of food, clothing, &c.

D'Acherii
Spicelegium,
vol. 1, 611.

This document furnishes indirectly a kind of bill of fare for the Ely refectory.

The monks could ask for every sort of fish, for vegetables, pastry, fruit, bread, cheese, wine, water, and milk. The visitor of the convent took on himself to see whether meat was furnished to the refectory, and the *Celerarius* dispensed the various luxuries which distinguished festival days.

Large quantities of fish were consumed at all the tables, probably because so many kinds were abundant and easily caught in the meers and streams which were close at hand. Tench, roach, sturgeon, greyling, turbot, trout, and white herrings, ling, mudfish, greenfish, lampreys, and eels, were regularly cooked for the refectory dinner. It is not unlikely that in the Middle Ages sea fish found their way up the fen waters much more readily than they can at present; but even in recent times it is said that salmon trout have been caught a few miles north of Ely. Bitterns and swans were frequently purchased for feast days, or sent as presents.

Sacrist's roll,
31 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1357. }
{ 24 Jan. 1358. }

The regular bill of fare, however, was constantly varied and enlarged by the addition of *petantia*, *mandata*, *graciæ*, and *liberaciones*, which were all, in some sense or other, allowances provided for festival days, by which the food served in the refectory was varied and augmented.

The *Petancia*, or *Pictancia*, were allowances of food, wine, beer, or money, issued in compliance with customs or bequests, and so frequently that at the close of the thirteenth century there were about three pittance days in every month.

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“Hæc sunt festa in quibus conventus debet habere petancia intēgra.

“In die translationis beatæ Etheldredæ de Sacrista xjs. et de Triplawe vs.

“In festo omnium sanctorum xs. de Johanne Amysie de Berwham.

“In die sanctæ Katerinæ xxs. de Triplaw.

“In die sancti Andreæ apostoli vjs. viij*℥*. de Triplaw.

“In die sancti Nicolai xs. de Triplaw.

“In die conceptionis beatæ Mariæ vjs. viij*℥*. de camerario, et de Triplawe vs.

“In die sancti Thomæ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi xs. de camarario.

“In die Epiphaniæ Domini vjs. viij*℥*. de Triplaw.

“In die sancti Petri ad Cathedram vs. de ecclesia de Meltoun.

“In dominica Palmarum xs. de domibus lȳnee in parochia omnium sanctorum.

“In die sancti Albani xjs. viij*℥*. de Triplaw.

“In festo Ascensionis Domini vjs. viij*℥*. de Rechedale in Swafham.

“In die depositionis sanctæ Etheldredæ xjs. de Sacrista.

“In passione Petri et Pauli vs. de ecclesia de Meltoun.

“In die sanctæ Sexburgæ xs. de Suffolk modo de Triplaw.

“In die sanctæ Wythburgæ viijs. de Triplaw.

“In die sancti Petri ad Vincula vs. de ecclesia de Sudburne.

“In die sancti Laurencii xiijs. iiij*℥*. de Triplaw.

“In die Assumptionis beatæ Mariæ xxvjs. viij*℥*. de Sacrista.

“In die nativitatis beatæ Mariæ vs. de ecclesia de Sudburne.

“Hæc sunt anniversaria in quibus dantur Petancia.

Prior of Ely,
1273-4 to 1288.

“In anniversario Johannis de Hemyngstoun xiijs. iiij*℥*. de Lakyngeth.

“ In anniversario Isabellæ Cresty xjs. ij*℥*. de parte redditus villæ et de quodam in Wychford xij*℥*.

“ In anniversario Galfridi de Burgo episcopi xxs. viij*℥*. de assertis in Somersham (et Stokys), et habebit conventus eodem die binam petanciam et potagium de Rye et bonam servisiam per duos dies.

“ In anniversario Willelmi episcopi xxvjs. viij*℥*. de assertis de Somersham predictis et habebit conventus omnia sicut in anniversario Galfridi episcopi prædicti.

“ In anniversario Eustachii episcopi xijjs. iij*℥*. de Sacrista in Berkyng habebit conventus petancia et servisiam per unum diem.

“ In anniversario Ricardi Regis liijs. iij*℥*. de maneriis quondam Osberti de Longo Campo in Leveringtoun et Ricardi Loveday in Elm, et habebit conventus omnia sicut in anniversario Galfridi episcopi.

“ In anniversario Hugonis prioris xs. de Triplaw.

“ In anniversario Walteri prioris xxs. de terra de Kentford.

“ In anniversario Johannis de Funteyns episcopi et in anniversario Hugonis de Norwolde episcopi quinque marc de parva Hadham.”

Mandata were annual distributions, generally of food, made ex-mandato, in compliance with the terms of some bequest. For example, the proceeds of the church of Wisbech were left by Bishop Northwold to improve the dietary of the monks:—“ pro uberiore refeccione fratrum in refectorio.”

In some instances, however, mandata seem to have been partly gifts of money, as in the following list:—

“ Qui capiunt mandata de Elemosinaria in cæna domini.

“ Dominus Prior habebit duos pauperes pueros qui habebunt de Elemosinaria iij*℥*.

“Item quilibet monachus habebit unum puerum et habebit *ij℥*.

“Item tres famuli qui pulsant in ecclesia habebunt *vj℥*. quia portant aquam in cœna domini ad altaria lavanda.

“Item duo clerici custodientes tria altaria habebunt *iiij℥*.

“Item duo servientes in coquina conventus habebunt *iiij℥*.

“Item parliator habebit *ij℥*.

“Item duo in Sutrina.

“Item duo in Sentrina.

“Item *j* Barbitonsor.

“Item *j* Balniator.

“Item Janitor et garcio ejus.

“Item *j* Stabilarius.

“Item lotrix de Brodyehows apud Quaveney.

“Item Capellanus in Elemosinaria et garcio ejus.

“Item magister puerorum.

“Item omnes famuli in Elemosinaria et apud Foxtoun.

“Item quinque pueri custodientes mandata.

“Item Brevigerulus.

“Item le Mandebord.

“Item duo in Refectorio.

“Item Claviger in Elemosinaria.

“Item Collector redditus Elemosinariæ.”

The word Mandata is preserved without much change of meaning in the term Maundy Thursday. Graciæ were also allowances, both in money and kind, which in the Ely rolls are combined with mandata and other allowances. In one of Bishop Orford's injunctions they are described as money :—“Precipimus ut illa pecunia que vocatur gracie solita distribui inter fratres pro suis necessitatibus amodo ut prius sit in custodia supprioris et tercii prioris vel fratrum duorum a priore assignan-

dorum quibus illam pecuniam integraliter liberari censemus," &c., &c.

In more recent periods they were accounted for both by the Sacrist and Shrinekeeper, for example :—

"Gracie conventus. Et in denariis solutis domino Priori cum xxxv fratribus de conventu quilibet eorum ad ijs. viij*℥*., in toto ciij*℥*is. iiij*℥*. Et in denariis solutis vj duplicibus cuilibet eorum ad ijs. hoc anno in toto xvij*℥*is. Summa cxjs. iiij*℥*."

Sacrist's roll,
1 Hen. VIII.
{ 22 Apr. 1509. }
{ 21 Apr. 1510. }

"Gracie conventus. Inde computat solutum domino priori et xxxix fratribus ac eciam iiij^{or} duplicibus cuilibet eorum xvj*℥*. Summa lvij*℥*is. viij*℥*."

Roll of
Feretarius,
13 Hen. VIII.
{ 22 Apr. 1521. }
{ 21 Apr. 1522. }

In the accounts of the Celerarius for the eighth year of the reign of Richard II. they appear in another form :—

"Minuciones cum grac' conventus.—In v quarteriis iiij bz frumenti emptis pro ryngac' et erogacione pauperum hoc anno xxvs. viij*℥*. . . . In ij meysis allecum emptis pro eroganc' pauperum xvs. v*℥*. . . . In uno frayel de ficubus emptis pro tartis pro pittanc' iiij*℥*is. In carne porcina ad idem ijs. j*℥*. In ij lb. resyns corannce xij*℥*. In ij lbs. datys pro tartis vj*℥*. In di libræ clowys ijs. vj*℥*. In una uncia de qwibibbys et j uncia masys ad idem ijs. iiij*℥*. In croco xij*℥*. . . . In ix lb. amigdalys et v lb. de rys pro Blankmang inde faciend' xv*℥*. In capons ad idem. . . . In melle pro potage et tartis vj*℥*. Soluti pistori pro v quarteriis frumenti furmendis et ryngac' fac' iiij*℥*is. iiij*℥*." . . .

Cel. roll,
8 Rich. II.
{ 22 June, 1384. }
{ 21 June, 1385. }

Spices, figs, ale, and cakes were annually provided for Lent by the master of the common house, and the never-failing pork-pies, capons, fig-tarts, dates, and "blankmang" of rice and almonds appeared at all feasts.

The custom at Ely seems to have been very much that observed at Durham, where the "Maister of the common house" had to "provide for all such spices

Rites of Durham, Surtees Society Publications, vol. 15, p. 84.

against Lent as should be comfortable for the said Monnckes for there great austeritie both of fastinge and prayinge and to see a fyre contynewally in the Common house hall for the Monncks to warme theme when they weyre disposed and to have alwaies a hogshhead of wyne for the Monnckes and for the keaping of his O, called O sapientia, and to provide for fyggs and walnutes against Lent."

The extent to which wine was consumed in the refectory, either on feast days or ordinary days, does not appear in the Celerer's rolls. The Prior and Sacrist had their private wine-cellars, and each monk could make a sign for his tumbler and wine-glass as well as for wine; but whether he got any of the Malvesey, or of the Red wine supplied by Fynkel, or was allowed only the produce of vineyards in Ely, Wentworth, and Holborn, is not so clear.

Precentor's roll,
18 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1344. }
{ 24 Jan. 1345. }

Wine for the use of the Church was purchased at Cambridge by the Precentor:—"In ix lagenis vini emptis pro humili prece xijs. pretium lagene xvjd."

"In j batello cum ij hominibus conductis versus Cantebrigiam pro dicto vino emendo xiiij*d*."

We know a great deal more about the bread and beer which the monks used than about any other common necessary in their dietary. In the treatise *De Signis* there are only two signals described:—"Pro pane qui aqua coquitur," and "pro pane qui vulgariter turta vocatur;" but in the *Liberaciones*, printed in page 175, several other sorts are mentioned, such as panes monachales, panes militares pro mandatis, panes blakwyte, panes prykket, and a variety called *trencho*', which was given to the cook's scullion, and may have been coarser than the others. The only bread which may be considered special, is the military loaf baked for the convent mandata; but all the rest were very likely prepared for every-day use.

Beer was a common drink of the monks, or there would not have been much punishment in the bread and water diet, to which the disobedient were reduced. Indeed, Bishop Hugo de Balsham made a provision for the comforts of the brethren, by leaving them his own brewhouse in Ely:—"Hugo de Balsham contulit conventui bracinum suum in Ely quod construitur ex opposito vinarii magni, videlicet inter Cameram Reginæ et pistrinum monachorum."

Lambeth Palace
Library MSS.,
448.

The convent brewer produced for their use as many varieties of beer as the baker, in his peculiar vocation, did of bread. They had bona servisia to drink, which may be interpreted as sound ale, to distinguish it from the debilis servisia, which was not quite so potent. There was a mediocris servisia, or small beer, and, finally, a drink called skegman, which perhaps corresponded with trencher bread in inferiority.

The Ely skegman may have been something akin to the pisan brewed at Durham.

Durham Bur-
sar's accounts,
Surtees Society
Publications.

Finally, if the household expenses of one of the Bishops of Ely are compared with those of the Prior and brethren, it becomes pretty clear that there was no excessive luxury in either case.

HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES OF THO. GOODRICH, BP. OF ELY. 25 Hen. 8. 1534.

Brit. Mus.
Add. MSS.
5860, f. 321.

April 2. 2 Bushels of Bay	3 fat Capons	3s.
Salt 15d.	A bushel of barley	8d.
6 Pounds of Candles . 7d. ob.	An 100 Fagots	2s. 8d.
4 fat Capons 3s. 8d.	Half a Veal	2s.
12 Rabbits 20d.	A Lamb	9d.
12 Pigeons 10d.	Quarter of an Oxe weigh-	
100 Eggs 13d.	ing 110 lb	5s. 8d.
A Calves head 4½d.	Another quarter weighing	
A Lamb 10d.	122 lb	6s. 4d.
Half a Mutton 22d.	A Lamb	22d.
12 Chickens 2s.	Half a Veal	20d.
A fat Lamb 2s.	A Calves head	3d.
A Cod's head 8d.	A Capon	10d.

230 HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES OF A BISHOP OF ELY.

HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES OF THO. GOODRICH, BP. OF ELY. 25 Hen. 8. 1534 (*continued*).

A Mutton	3s. 2d. ob.	July. For the dinner of	
A Veal	3s. 8d.	13 of my lord's ser-	
3 Green Geese	2s.	vants at London . . .	2s. 7d.
12 Pigeons, 2s. The same	1s.	A Goose	9d.
3 qrs. of Beef weighing		6 Chickens 10d., 12 Rab-	
404 lb.	1l. 8d. ob.	bits 1s. 8d., 2s. 4d.	
A gallon and half of Cream	1s.	A Pig 6d., 100 Oysters .	2d.
9 sacks of Coals	3s.	7 gallons of Milk . . .	4d.
A great Toll of fresh Salmon	20d.	—	
A little Turbot	20d.	August. A Turbot . . .	20d.
2 great Soles	10d.	At Somersham, a Veal .	3s. 4d.
A gammon of Bacon . . .	12 (<i>sic</i>).	A Pig 5d., 15 Pigeons .	6d.
3 Marrow bones	5d.	6 Plovers 5d., a Tench .	8d.
—		2 Soles 10d., 2 Capons 1s.,	
May 2. Lambs 3	3s. 8d.	11 Lapwings	1s.
A Mutton and half	4s. 6d.	24 Pigeons 10d., bushel of	
12 Rabbits	20d.	Malt 8d., of Oats . . .	4d.
20 Whittings	1s.	—	
Barrils of Beer 7 & ½ . . .	18s. 9d.	September. A Goose . .	12d.
Of Ale 2	7s. 3d.	12 Lapwings 12d., 12 Pi-	
13 Pd. of Candles	15d.	geons	5d.
A bushel of fine Flower . .	2s.	2 gallons of Cream . . .	8d.
A bushel of Bay Salt . . .	8d.	—	
A Lamb 10d., 2s., 2s. 4d.,		October. A peck of Oat-	
1s. 10d., 1s. 8d., 1s. 5d., 18d.		meal 3d., of Barley . .	2d.
A Mutton 3s., 2s. 3d., 3s. 2d., 2s. 4d.		A peck of Salt 2d., 2 Geese	11d.
12 Macals 2s. 13	2s.	3 Pigs 15d., 3 Capons . .	17d.
100 of Eggs 1s., 14d., 13d.		A Woodcock 2d. ob., 6	
A bushel of Oats	5d.	Chickens	6d.
A bushel of Oatmeal Grotes	1s.	6 Pigeons 2d. ob., a pound	
—		of Sugar	8d.
23 May. 20 Macarel 10d.		A dozen of Larks 20d., 4	
In June 12 for 4d.		Pigs	1s.
A bushel of White Salt . .	10d.	3 Fat Geese 2s., 4 Wood-	
—		cocks 1s. 6d.	2s.
June. A fat Goose	7d.	—	
A Turbot	16d.	November. 100 Eggs . .	20d.
Half a bushel of Greene		—	
Pease	4d.	Decemb. A Codd	6s.
Half a bushel of Oatmeal	6d.	6 Salt Fish	2s.
6 tankards of Conduit		6 Stock fishes 1s., 4 Ca-	
Water (Holborne)	2d.	pons 2s., 2 Pigs . . .	14d.
12 qrs. of Wheat	3l. 19s. 9d.	Galon of Cream 1s., A	
A gallon of Milk 2d., of		Turbot 6d., 4 doz.	
Cream	8d.	Larks	2s.
—			

The duties of the Camerarius, or Chamberlain, were

in their way as important as those of the Sacrist or Cellarer.

It was his duty to provide clothes, shoes, and bedding for the monks, to pay the wages of the barber, tailor, and shoemaker, to keep the monks' bath in good order, to furnish them with sheepskins in winter, to have their boots oiled by way of distinction on the great festivals, and to pay the cost of all washing.

At Durham "his office was to provyde for stammyne, otherwaies called lyncey wonneye, for sheetes, and for sheirtes for the novices and the Monnckes to weare, for they dyd never weare any lynynge;" but at Ely, when a novice entered the Priory, he had to bring with him a supply of clothes, bedding, and other necessities, which relieved the Camerarius of all the heavy charges of an outfit.

Rites of
Durham, Surtees
Society Publi-
cations, vol. 15,
p. 85.

A list of these "necessaria" is preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace, and also an imperfect copy of the regulations to be observed by each novice in his year of probation, which was a year of the most complete isolation from the professed monks with whom they were to live afterwards.

These young men were placed under a master, had certain parts of the choir, cloister, dormitory, and refectory set apart for their use, and were bound to perform the common and unavoidable duties of daily life, under an unceasing inspection:—

"Item notandum est quod vestiarii non debent participare de cibariis novitiorum in quadragesimali tempore cum fecerint panes celebr' . . . in vultis . . . sicut faciunt cum professis. Item novitii non debent supplere ministeria alicujus professi, nec aliquis professus debet mutare cum eis aliquod ministerium sine licencia magistrorum suorum. Item novitii infirmi existentes infirmaria non debent exire infirmariam cum aliquo professo præter cum magistris suis, aut loqui nec communi-

care cum aliquo regulari vel seculari sine licencia magistrorum suorum aut in eorum presentia magistris omnia verba audientibus vel sociis eorum.”

Each brought to the Priory bedding, clothes, towels, a dirty-clothes bag, and a silver spoon.

“Necessaria novitiis noviter ad religionem venientibus providenda.

“In primis debent provideri ij. cannas.

“Item j. matras.

“Item ij. paria blankettys.

“Item ij. paria straylys.

“Item iiij. coverlytis.

“Item j. furytpane.

“Item j. blewbed de Sago.

“Item j. cuculla cum froco.

“Item j. tunica nigra furrata.

“Item j. tunica nigra simplex.

“Item ij. tunice albe.

“Item j. amîca nigra furrata.

“Item j. amîca simplex.

“Item j. zona cum j. powch, cultrello, tabulis et pectine, filo et acu in le powch.

“Item j. parva zona pro noctibus.

“Item iiij. paria staminorum.

“Item iiij. paria bracarum cum Brygerdel et poynts.

“Item ij. paria caligarum.

“Item iiij. paria de le sokks.

“Item ij. paria botarum pro diebus.

“Item j. par botarum pro noctibus.

“Item j. pylche.

“Item iiij. paria flammeole.

“Item iiij. pulvinaria.

“Item j. pileo albo pro noctibus.

“Item ij. manitergia.

“Item j. pokett pro vestibus lavandis.

“Item j. schavyngcloth.

“ Item j. crater.

“ Item j. ciphus murreus.

“ Item j. cochlear argenteum.”

This provision for a young novice is an amusing illustration of monastic habits. The monks had attained to great luxury to regard all these as “necessaria,” and yet slept in boots !

The contents of the pouch are extremely curious. The writing tables were probably waxed, to be written on with a pointel, such as we see represented in portraits of Chaucer, hung round the neck by a silk cord.

Many of these “tables” exist, but their intention has rarely, if ever, been noticed. The Ely novices were to use them as note-books to keep memoranda of failings which were to be afterwards divulged in the confessional. “Preparantes se ad confessionem et si aliqua peccata quo morsu conscientiæ invenerint, scribant in tabulis suis ne oblivione tradantur,” &c.

In addition to the tables, the pouch contained a small knife, a comb, a needle, and some thread, to make good small repairs, we may presume.

Buttons, whose sudden disappearance is the worst of minor evils, were not in general use ; points, or thongs, were used to fasten any part of the dress, and especially breeches.

The novice had to provide a sufficient stock of breeches and points, viz. “iiij. paria bracarum cum Brygerdel et poyns,” the Brygerdel, or Brigerdel, being a sort of undergirding or belly-band, to which a purse was often attached.

The amount of bed-furniture each man brought, shows that the dormitory was comfortably fitted up, though not what would be called luxuriously, according to the customs of the nineteenth century. The novices' beds were made up, to some extent, of straw, which was supplied from the barns of the Sacrist. “Notan-

dum quod anno mccccxxix., xix°. die mensis Marcii tempore fratris Johannis Stunteney, tunc camerarii discussum est per dominum Petrum Ely, priorem Eliensem, et seniores capituli quod camerarius debet disponere per servientes suos pro stramine afferendo a grangiis sacristæ usque in dormitorium pro lectis novitiorum sternendis." The "matras" which they brought along with their blankets and sheets, may have been put on the top of the Sacrist's straw. When the "portitor lucernæ" came to the dormitory door at night, with his lantern to summon them to the church, they had no bedroom carpets, but rushes or straw, to stand on while they got ready, so that there may have been some sense in wearing a pair of night boots.

At dinner each novice had his "crater," or goblet, as well as a "ciphus" of smaller size, which seems to show that they were used, like ourselves, to have every man his tumbler and wine-glass by his side.

The clothing which professed monks were permitted to wear was prescribed by ordinances as precise as those laid down for novices, and at the visitations of the order an attempt was made to institute most minute inquiries into the practices of each convent, in respect of bed furniture and dress.

These inquisitions descended to such specific personal examinations that it is very doubtful whether they ever could have been really carried out. They became, probably, mere expressions of an authority which was practically powerless.

"Articuli super quibus inquirendum est in visitacione regularium.

". . . . Item, an bene continue portant habitum monachalem. Item, an utuntur vestibus vel lintheaminibus lineis. Item, an jacent induti vel nudi. Item, an jacent in fisonibus vel in calcitris . . . Item, an procurantur ut deest cum victu et vestitu," &c.

The statutes and supplementary ordinances contain frequent repetitions of peremptory instructions on all these points, and we are led to the inevitable conclusion that there was a strong tendency on the part of the monks to rebel against a too rigid observance of the rules relating to dress which were established for their guidance.

The rolls of the Camerarius contain lists of the common garments, boots, shoes, and furs, which were annually issued to the monks, and the catalogue is extended in the treatise *De Signis*, already mentioned, which prescribes the signal to be used for every article of ordinary dress a monk was likely to require. This document contains the “*signum pro cappa, pellicio, superpellicio, mantello, camisa, femoralibus, caligis, coopertorio, capitali seu pulvinare, corrigia, et cingulo ferialio.*”

The cappa was probably the canon's cope, a cloak issued to monks who were allowed only by special licence to leave the convent for a time, and delivered up to the Camerarius on their return. “*Quicumque monachorum habent capas clausas, cellas frena calcaria vel hujusmodi harnasia, eis utilia cum de licencia monasterium exierint, reversi statim ea restituant camerario,*” &c. The copes worn in processions were occasionally very extravagantly decorated; and as much as 2*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* was paid for embroidering one for the Prior in the reign of Edward III.

The old terms for a shirt and drawers require no explanation. *Corrigia* was a kind of belt, according to the treatise on signs. There are no signs given for bed furniture.

The old garments of the monks were returned to the Camerarius for distribution amongst the poor.

The following extract from the roll of the Camerarius and his socius, in the reign of Henry VI., contains a good account of an Ely wardrobe:—

6 Hen. VI.
 { 1 Sept. 1427. }
 { 31 Aug. 1428. }

“ Vestura conventus.

“ Yemales et estivales. Soluti domino Priori et xliij sociis suis pro liberatione yemali et estivali, videlicet pro quolibet socio pro caligis, pedulis, pellice, capicio, coo-
patorio, linea tela, stamine, stragulis, Wilkokes, et robis in partem de xxijs. vjd. per annum, videlicet cuilibet hoc anno xiijs. iiijd. Summa xxviiij^{li}. xiijs. iiijd.

“ Botæ yemales et estivales.

“ Soluti domino Priori et xliij sociis suis pro botis yemalibus videlicet cuilibet eorum xijd. . . . xliijs.

“ Item eidem domino Priori et xliij sociis suis pro botis suis estivalibus cuilibet eorum xijd. xliijs.

“ Consuetudines annuales. Soluti camerario pro capa sua ex consuetudine xiijs. iiijd. Item socio suo ex consuetudine xs. . . . Et soluti domino Priori Eliensi pro j cloth sak ex consuetudine vjs. viijd. Et Magistro de Sengeys pro fraternitate Sancti Johannis per annum xijd. Item ij secularibus studentibus Cantabrigiæ, videlicet de ob., ijs. iiijd. In j furrura de grey empti pro domino episcopo loco j paris botarum et ij parium pedulorum sibi pertinentium hoc anno xxxvjs.

“ Necessariæ. . . . In diversis vasibus in batherna circulandis et emendandis xvjd. In ccc garbis lesch' ad idem empt' cum cariagio iiijjs. vjd. In ij botetreyes ad officium sutoris emptis ijs. In quodam ferro pro botis vertendis empto ad idem officium viijd. In oleo empto pro botis conventus in principalibus festis ungendis iiijjs.

“ Vadia et stipendia. In stipendiis unius balneatoris et eciam barbitonsoris per annum xxs. In stipendio unius cissoris pro novo officio et veteri faciendo, simul cum filo inveniando ad idem hoc anno in officio camerarii xxiijs. In stipendio unius lotricis per annum xxs. In vestura empti pro firmariis de Hauston, Wicham, cissore, et sutore, et servienti in officio cum tonsore et ministro ejusdem xxxiijs. In stipendio sutoris in officio per tria quarteria anni vs.” &c.

All the officers of the convent paid the servants in their employ partly in clothing ; cooks, masons, bricklayers, and plasterers received robæ, or shoes, or both, as regularly as their wages. The passage which follows is extracted from the Sacrist's account of the expenses connected with the erection of the parish church of S. Cross :—" In xv paribus caligarum de blanket empt' datis operariis xs. In xv paribus sotularium empt' et datis predictis operariis vijs. vjd."

It was also the custom to distribute cloth, or livery, of a better kind, among the generosi, or gentlemen, who were in attendance on the Prior, or had any connection with the monastery, and these gifts were extended to the pages of the Bishop, or of distinguished guests. This practice explains the following passage :—

"Emptio Robæ. In xxxviij. virgis de depgrene, et x virgis de litgrene emptis pro clericis et generosis domini, pretium panni xlvjs., iiij*li*. ijs. In xl virgis de depgrene et xl virgis de lithgrene emptis pro valettis, pretium panni xliijs., vj*li*. xvjs. In xxvj virgis de depgrene et xxxj virgis de litgrene emptis pro garcionibus, pretium panni xxxijs., lxxvijs. viij*li*. In xv virgis de blu emptis pro paiettis viijs. In tonsura ejusdem, iiij*li*. ijd."

Treasurer's
roll.

2 Hen. VI.

{ 1 Sept. 1423
31 Aug. 1424. }

The old word tonsura, for dressing the cloth, is still retained, in some parts of Yorkshire, in the phrase, to tonse, or tonce, up a thing.

The zeal for destroying the monastic buildings, and converting into ready money the materials of which they were composed, which distinguished both the royal commissioners and the surveyors, ensured the wholesale destruction of the greater part of the residences of all these officials of the Priory whose duties have been partly described. However, there are fragments of many of the old structures imbedded in the canons'

houses, from which a skeleton map of the convent may be constructed.

The only one of the gatehouses of the Priory which remains is the west entrance, generally known by the name of Ely Porta. The erection of this building was begun in the year of Prior Bukton's death, in the 20th year of Richard II.

20 Rich. II.
 { 22 June 1396. }
 { 21 June 1397. }

The Sacrist's roll for this year has not been found; but the roll of the treasurer, John of Hatfield, contains an account of the expense of burying the late Prior, John Bukton, the cost of electing his successor, William Walpol, and the items of an expenditure of 14*l.* 16*s.* 11*d.* on a "nova constructio." The first payment of xxvijs. v*d.* was made to John Mepsale and his men, working for four weeks, after the death of John Bukton, late prior, on the new gatehouse. This may, possibly, have been the same John Mepsale whose house became so well known in Ely twenty years later, the originator, in fact, of Mepsale's Corner, in S. Mary's Street.

The work must have been in its earliest stage, inasmuch as men were hired to dig and level the foundation. "Nova constructio. Et soluti Johanni Mepsale et servientibus suis operantibus super novas portas per iiij septimanas post mortem domini Johannis Bukton nuper Prioris xxvijs. v*d.* Et in diversis operariis conductis pro fundatione ibidem capienda et ramnanda, ix*s.* Et soluti cuidam carpentario facienti unum loge pro cementariis viijs." This shed was built for the convenience of the men; and 9*l.* 6*s.* were paid for stone to John Prior, "masoun quarreour," by Alan of Sutton, acting "precepto domini prioris." In the same year a supply of wainscot was bought:—"Et in clx. bord de wainscot emptis apud Lynne pro dictis portis, xlijs." The Sacrist's accounts for the fifth year of the reign of Henry V. contain entries which, at first sight, seem

Treasurer's
 roll.
 20 Rich. II.
 { 22 June 1396. }
 { 21 June 1397. }

connected with this Gatehouse; but they must belong to some other building which has been destroyed, for it is improbable that the work extended over more than twenty years, and the arms of Richard II. were carved on a shield inserted near the top of the west wall. In the early part of his reign this king bore the arms of England quartered with those of France, but afterwards he impaled them with the bearings ascribed to Edward the Confessor. It is in this latter form that the royal arms once appeared on this building.

The Treasurer paid 28*l.* 0*s.* 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* towards the burial of Prior Bukton, the heaviest charges being for black cloth for the convent's servants on the day of the funeral, gifts to the poor, spices, and wax. The entries are, however, worth copying at full length:—

“*Expensæ factæ circa sepulturam fratris Johannis Bukton nuper prioris. Et in nigro panno empto pro liberacione famulorum et aliorum contra diem sepulture, xj*li.* vijs. iij*d.* q ut patet per parcellas. Et dati pauperibus per manus Johannis Mepsale et Thome Gaunt, cs. Et soluti cuidam sessori pro xij. garmiammentis albis faciendis pro xij. pauperibus, vijs. Et dati pro spalteriis dicendis die exequiarum, ix*s.* x*d.* Et soluti pro ^{xx}iiij*lb.* cere faciendis in Torchis et cereis de cera dicti domini Prioris, iij*s.* x*d.* Et in x*lb.* lichni emptis ad idem, xx*d.* Et in xij. Tignis de fyr emptis pro uno heers inde faciundo, i*s.* In clavis emptis ad idem, x*d.* Et soluti polmitor portanti campanam circa villam, v*j.**d.* Et in diversis hominibus conductis ad remigandum abbatem de Walden usque Ely ad celebrandum exequias et missas defuncti xv*j.**d.* Et soluti succentori pro rotulo domini Prioris faciundo, xx*s.* Et soluti capellano elemosinarii, x*s.* Et soluti Brevitori portanti rotulum, xiiij*s.* iiij*d.* Et in speciebus et aliis emptis pro eadem sepultura, viij*li.* i*s.* x*d.* ob. Summa xxvii*li.* 0*s.* v*d.* ob. q Expensæ forin’. Et eidem pro una бага pro rotulis*

imponendis, *iiij*℥. Item in latches emend' pro hostio Thesaur', *ij*℥. Et in sanguine draconum empt' pro eodem"

These charges for white robes, and black ones, for the herse, and wax, for rowing the Abbot of Walden to Ely, sending round the bellman, and starting the Brevitor to neighbouring Priories with his roll, and for the purchase of dragon's blood for the dead Prior, are much more amusing in the original Latin than in a translation; and in like manner the history of the expenses connected with the election of Walpol to the priorate can scarcely be translated out of the language of the Sacrist without losing some of its interest.

"*Expensæ factæ circa electionem fratris Willelmi Walpol prioris.*"

"*Dati Magistro Johanni Judde doctori legum, xls. Item clerico suo, iiij*s. Et dati magistro Thome Hetersete doctori legum, xls. Item clerico suo, *v*s. *viiij*℥. Et in una batella conducta pro eisdem remigandis de Ely usque Cantebrigiam, *xij*℥. Et dati magistro Roberto Foxton notario, *l*s. Item clerico ejusdem, *xii*s. *iiij*℥. Et in expensis unius pagetti laborantis usque London cum litera magistri Stephani Houden ad Robertum Flat ad inquirendum de adventu domini episcopi, *xvj*℥. Item dati filio magistri Roberti Foxton, *xx*℥. Et in expensis Roberti Palfreyman euntis usque Cantebrigiam cum litera,* pro magistro Roberto Foxton, *viiij*℥. Et in expensis domini Johannis Grene laborantis usque Swafhith pro proclamatione electi facienda in ecclesia ibidem pro fratre Johanne Thoedon, et iterum usque Cantebrigiam pro certificatione proclamationis sigillanda per *iiij*. dies eundo et redeundo, *xviiij*℥. Et in expensis equorum domini Prioris stantium in rectoria apud Dounham per *iiij* dies tempore electionis, *iiij*s. *x*℥. Et dati clericis domini

* Supplied, blank in roll.



THE GALLERY.



WALPOL'S GATE HOUSE. A.D. 1397, &c.

episcopi, lxxvs. viij*℥*. Et famulis ejusdem episcopi de familia, vi*℥*. xiijs. iiij*℥*. Item dati magistro Stephano Houden cancellario domini episcopi, xls. Et in expensis Roberti Palfreyman euntis per ij. vices usque Cantabrigiam cum uno homine et batella sua pro magistro Johanne Judde ibidem querendo, xiiij*℥*. ob. Et in expensis fratrum Willelmi Walpol et Johannis Bukton laborantium usque Hatfeld ad episcopum Eliensem pro licencia eligendi Priorem habenda, xxxijs. v*℥*. ob. Summa xxi*℥*. viijs. ix*℥*."

The west front of Walpol's gate house is well represented in Plate 23. At the dissolution of the monastery four chambers in it were assigned to "eight synging men," appointed under the new system.

From this entrance gate of Walpol's to the west end of the cathedral the original boundary of the Priory is in part preserved by a range of buildings of very early date, which is the subject of Plate 22. These chambers were built on vaults, and originally lighted by narrow round-headed windows which have been closed up and partly destroyed in order to introduce modern ones. There were two of these openings in each of the spaces between the flat pilaster-like buttresses, and the remains of them are easily distinguished both in the east, and west wall. To what purpose this building was formerly applied is not known. It was lengthened in the fourteenth, or fifteenth century, and became the Free School of the College in the sixteenth.

The vaults were accessible to the Priory on the east, and the whole structure looks like a portion of a gallery or series of long narrow rooms, which once connected together the gate house, Prior's hospice, Bishop's palace, and church. The chambers may have been used for the accommodation of guests.

The road on the west of these buildings is still called the Gallery, deriving its name, as is said, from

a gallery which led from the palace to the west transept of the cathedral.

“A description of the cathedral church of Ely,” by G. Millers, 3rd ed. p. 46.

“Till within a few years there was a communication between this transept and the north-east wing of the Bishop’s palace over the road, which road is still called, from that circumstance, *The Gallery*. It was found to be a very inconvenient obstruction, and was accordingly taken away. That building was, indeed, of an age far later than that of the church; but it is likely that, from the earliest time, there had been something of the sort. The Bishop might enter the church at this nearest point, pass through the chapel, and enter the south aisle at an arch, on the keystone of which are the arms of the see between the tower and the west wall of the cloister.”

It is probable, however, that the name originated in a gallery, of which that mentioned by Mr. Millers was only a small part, for the Commissioners of Henry VIII. applied the term to the western boundary of the priory generally, and specially to a long chamber built over the west walk of the cloister.

In defining the portions of the monastery which were to be handed over to the different officers of their new foundation, they awarded to the Dean all the edifices and ground “from the grete hall to the gallery wall westward.”

The “ostium locutorii episcopi,” which led from the priory into the town, and had a special porter or custos, appointed by the Prior and convent, may have had some connection with this passage to the palace.

The buildings which the Commissioners converted into “the Free Schole of the Colleage,” are now used as dwelling-houses.

According to the notes for the survey made in June, 1649, there were “belongeinge unto the said schoole a retireinge roome at the north end of the said schoole &

ELY CATHEDRAL.



REMAINS OF BUILDINGS ERECTED CHIEFLY BY PRIOR JOHN DE CRAUDENE.

a chamber over it divided into 3 little roomes. And the schoole cont' 19 yards in long. and 21 foote in lat. within the walls, and one chamber and two closetts at the south end of the said schoole cont. in length 22 yards and in breadth 7 yards, and one vaulted under them," &c.

The vault underneath was, at the date of the survey, used as a malting, and the master had "liberty of the common yard called the colledge yard for the scholars to recreate themselves in, containing by estimation one acre."

The scholars had the great hall of the convent given them to dine in.

"A greate comon hall for the schollers to dynne in called the colledge hall cont. within the walls lat. 11 yards & in longit. 24 yards or thereabouts: as also a buttery and kittchin now divided to the said colledge belongeinge, with 3 tables with benches windscotted at the backs & 3 formes & a skreene with a cup bords head adjoyneinge thereunto in the said hall, covered with tyle and slate, but something out of repair, in tyle & glass, & over it 3 Rayneish roomes."

On entering the Priory, or, as it is now called, the College, through Walpol's gate, the most prominent group of buildings is that represented in Plate 21, consisting of the Prior's hospice and chapel, together with the great hall just mentioned. These buildings have now become the Deanery, and the official residence attached to one of the stalls; but according to the terms of the original award of the Commissioners they seem to have been all assigned to the Deanery:—
 "All the edifices and ground, from the grete hall to the gallery wall westward, and from the olde hall with the kechyn called the prior's kechyn with chapel and galery southward, with the soyle of the same, except the stuff of the kechyn, and except 1 parcell of the kechyn

under the chappell chambre. The gret hall to be for the petit canons with all other menysters and officers to dyne and sup in, with the volts underneath the same, and also the covent kechyn and the littel butre adjoyning to the same, with sufficient implements of kechyn stuff, botry, and napry."

The only one of these buildings which can be said to retain its original character is the chapel of the Prior; all the others have been either destroyed or so completely modernized as to have lost most of their mediæval features.

The chapel was built during the reign of Edward II., by John de Craudene, or Craweden, who entered on the duties of the priorate in the fourteenth year of that King's reign, according to a roll yet existing, and bearing the following title:—"Status Prioratus Elyensis, die Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Edwardi XIX°. incipiente, et relevatio ejusdem anno xx°. is Maii anno dicti regis xiiij. quo die frater Johannes de Crawedene suscepit dicti prioratus regimen, usque ad festum Sci Michaelis, quam idem Prior fecit."

The back of the roll is occupied by the Treasurer's accounts, which are prefaced in the usual manner:—"Compotus fratris Johannis de Scto Edmundo, et fratris Roberti de Saham Thes. Dñi Prioris et Conventus, de omnibus receptis et expensis, a festo Scti Michaelis anno rr E xvij°. usque ad idem festum proximum sequens, exclusive quoad ultimum terminum Scti Michaelis predicti."

Amongst the expenses, there is one entry which proves that the chapel was being built in the years 1325-6:—"In nova constructione capellæ et cameræ domini Prioris, cxxxvij*li*. viijs. vd. In donis, x*li*. xixs. iiij*d*., unde ad novam fabricam ecclesiæ et capellæ, v*j**li*."

The building is scarcely mentioned again in any Ely

18 Ed. II.
 { 8 July, 1324.
 { 7 July, 1325. }

record of earlier date than the Commissioners' award and the survey of 1649, when it was thus valued:—

“Item the colledge chapel, built with soft stone, containing in length, xxx. foot, and in breadth xiiij., arched underneath, and covered with lead; the materiall whereof leaving a sufficient wall for Mr. Buckeridge, his lodgeinge, for the house and garden, is estimated to be worth, in ready money, xxxiiij*l*. xvijs.”

Stones	vij <i>l</i> .	xs.
Timber	ij <i>l</i> .	xvs.
Glass		xs.
Iron and lead	xxiiij <i>l</i> .	ijs.
		<hr/>
		xxxiiij <i>l</i> . xvijs.

Although the building was, as usual, ordered to be taken down, and sold as old materials, it escaped destruction by being turned into a dwelling-house. The late Mr. Wilkins published an account of it in 1801, when it was thus perverted from its original uses; but the partitions and floors, which had been introduced, concealed some of its architectural peculiarities, and his plans are in some respects defective. In 1846 the whole structure had become so ruinous that it was necessary to repair it thoroughly; for when the numerous encroachments and additions, which had gradually accumulated about the old walls, were cleared away, the injury the building had sustained was far more serious than had been supposed. The north wall was almost destroyed. The tabernacle work, and low side window, had been entirely knocked out to make way for fire-places and chimneys, the north-east window had been cut away to make room for a door into the adjoining house, the residence of one of the canons, and the remaining window on that side had been modernized to suit the requirements of a small bedroom. All the

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vaulting shafts had been partly destroyed to let in flooring girders, and a narrow staircase, which led to an upper story of small bedrooms, had obliterated a fresco of the crucifixion, painted on the south wall of the ante-chapel. The east wall, below the window-sill, had been reduced to half its original thickness in order to enlarge a room which occupied the altar-platform, and the mullions of both the east and the west window had been cut through, and their stumps used to support a floor. The tracery of both the large windows was damaged and unsettled, the vault altogether destroyed, and the west wall split through.

As it would have been imprudent to replace a stone vault on walls which had been so recklessly treated, it was determined to substitute a wooden one, which would preserve all the characteristic features of the original construction. This was not a difficult task, as the ruins of the chapel afforded all the information that was necessary.

"On the Construction of Mediæval Vaults," by R. Willis, Jacksonian Professor in the University of Cambridge. Proceedings of Institute of British Architects, 1840.

The ribbed vaults of the Middle Ages consist of a solid mass of masonry, termed the springing block, or "tas de charge," rising to about half the vertical height of the wall, "upon which the separate ribs were put up and connected together by vaults of a light material." The real span of a vault is, consequently, much less than the apparent space.

Upon each bed of the stones which make up this solid, the molds of each rib were projected geometrically, so as to show both the pattern of the ribs and the intersection of the moldings.

Figure 10, Plate 7, is a reduction from a tracing of the mason's lines on one of the stones used in the construction of the vault of the chapel. It was found in 1839, by Professor Willis, who was the first to point out "what geometrical methods were really employed" by the old masons "in setting out their work."

From this stone he determined the plan of the wooden vault, and found the curvature of each rib from the remains of the "tas de charge," or springing blocks, which had been left uninjured, that they might carry flooring joists, when the chapel was desecrated.

After the paper and rubbish had been stripped off the inner face of the east wall, it was found that the bench-table, which was left at the sides and opposite end of the chapel, had been continued all round the building. It had been probably carried across the east wall at different levels, in order to adapt itself to the space occupied by the altar; but it was impossible to reproduce these arrangements where all traces of them had been swept away, and the bench was, consequently, carried across without any break in its level.

In order to give depth and richness to the window openings, the rear arch, or rib, was designed to be identical with the wall rib of the vault. The window jambs are skilfully combined with the vault piers, and the thickness of the wall below the sills is so gradually increased that the change is never allowed to be prominent. A section of the chapel wall, given in Plate 5, Nos. 47, 48, 49, shows how carefully the details of the masonry throughout the building were studied. The drawing gives sections of the jambs and sills of the two forms of side window and of the vault pier which unites them.

The junction of the vault piers with the low side windows and the tabernacle work above them, is an admirable example of the combination of different kinds of decoration. The bases and bands of the piers and shafts are grouped together at different levels, so as to interpenetrate each other and combine with the window sills and bench-table in the most effective manner. Plate 5, No. 56.

The soffits of all the arches were ornamented with a small pattern, laid on in thick white body colour.

but it has nearly all dropped off from exposure to the air.

The marks made by the escutcheon of an iron handle are still visible on the chapel door, and there is a plate which fits them now fastened to the back door of one of the houses which occupies part of the Monks' Infirmary.

This chapel and other additions to the monastery which Prior John de Craudene made are mentioned in the following terms by his biographer:—"Ipse enim fabricari fecit ad hospitium Prioris, novam capellam mirandi decoris, in qua Deo vota laudis ex affectu reddit cordis; ubi etiam nocturnas excubias ac spirituales meditationes per dies et noctes frequentius exercebat. . . . Fecit enim fieri novam cameram ex opposito capellæ predictæ, ad aquilonem; . . . Habuit etiam ibidem studium suum pro libris, quum sibi vacaverat, inspiciendis."

Ang. Sac. i.
649.

It appears from this passage that he built parallel to his chapel, on the north, the great hall which has now become the deanery. This is the building which was originally assigned to the Free School (page 243). The studium may have formed part of this hall, or of another building connected with his chapel which was erected about the same time.

The commissioners appointed by Henry VIII. in 1531 made the following distribution of the Priory buildings among the members of the new chapter:—

"Assigned to the Deyns lodging.

"All the edifices & ground from the gret hall to the galery wall westward, & from the olde hall with the kechyn called the Priors kechyn with chappel & galery southward with the soyle of the same & except one parcell of the kechyn under the chappell chambre.

"The gret hall to be for the petit canons with all the other menysters and officers to dyne and sup in with the volts underneth the same; and also the covent

kechyn and the litel butre adjoynying to the same with sufficient implements of kechyn stuff botry and napry.

“ Doctor Cox.

“ The celerers logeng from the fermary northward with all the edifices both beneth & above as far as the buyldyng goth southward with the garden extending to the dorter westward. Proviso for the olde man loging :—dur : vita.

“ Dene of Stok.

“ The paynted chamber from the firmere of the south to the outermost part of the buylding northward ; and from the churchyarde westward with all the edifices beneth and above, with the chamber annexed to the same called Cottis chamber, with the churchyarde therto adjoyning and half the garden with the yle adjoyning thereto.

“ Doctor Meye.

“ The black hostre from the fermary of the north, with all the edifices both beneth and above southward, with the chamber somtyme the celerers annext thereto of the east and the garden annexed to the same sumtyme the fermaris with a kechyn del firmar with the nether part of the chamber hous beryng half the charge of the covering of the same, with the orchyerd against the same.

“ Doctor Lyson.

“ The sextre hall as it is compassed howsses yard and gardens.

“ Mr. Ayer.

“ Mr. Hamond’s logyng from the fermarie of the west with the edifices both above and beneth, with garden and orchyerd anexed to the same, and the litle chappel in the firmary church except the lead, &c.

“ Mr. Custons.

“ Gent hall with all the edifices both beneth and above from the fermarie chappel north wall of the north, and the wall of the garden of the said hall with the garden

adjoynyg to the same of the south, and from Mr. Hamond's lodgyng of the eest to the black hostre of the west, with chamberer house, viz., le over part, beryng half the charges of coveyng, &c.

"Mr. Hamond.

"The almyry with all the edifices courts and gardens belonging to the same lacking two cheynes, windows, &c.

"Mr. Ward.

"The newe hall with the audite chamber, and the chappel chamber called Mr. Lee chambre with the hous and vauts therabout with the litle garden and pultre yard and the pond there and the chappel chamber and parcell of the kechyn underneth the same lacking one pair steys &c. The chamber at the hall dore to be for an audite chamber.

"For Petit Canons.

"Knights chamber, vaut underneth for John Corbet, four chambers in the gatehouse for 8 synging men, &c. &c."

These were the original provisions made for the residences of the Dean, eight canons, three of whom had been monks; eight petit or minor canons, six of whom had been monks, and for eight singing men. Rooms were assigned to bedesmen and others in various chambers within the Priory, and many of the old buildings, such as the school-house, wax-house, brew-house, bake-house, mill-house, with school-hous in the almyry, the old hall in the sextry, the long dortor & privi dortor, the frayter and pettencyary, were all to be plucked down and sold. The chapter-house was to be changed.

According to this distribution of the old monastic buildings amongst their new owners, the Dean was to be established in the premises situated between the great hall and gallery westward, and the old hall on the south. A large portion of the Prior's hospice was to be reserved for a deanery, and the great hall was to

be called the common hall of the college of Ely, and was to be used as a dining hall for the petit canons, the 24 king's scholars, and all other officers and ministers of the church.

Nor was this provision more than was absolutely necessary for carrying out the scheme which was then in contemplation. The new corporation consisted of "Deane and prebends in number nyne, eight choristers belonging to the colledge besides the schollers, eight singeing boyes, five vickers with the master and usher, twenty-fowre kings schollers besides the butcher baker brewer barber cooke and butler all which ought to be in commons." The ancient uses of the old buildings were to be partially kept up by their new possessors.

It is evident, however, that the suggestions made by the Commissioners were found to be impracticable, and were consequently abandoned.

If the original award is compared with the recommendations of the Surveyors who visited Ely in the summer of 1649, it will be seen that the noble hall built by the Prior was in danger, like his chapel, of being sold for what it would produce as old materials. The reports drawn up by these Surveyors are the fullest records left of the state of the fabric, a century after the suppression of the Priory, and the following extracts show to what extent the Prior's residence had been then remodelled, and what further alterations were proposed.

Notes for Survey.

Parliamentary Survey, June 21, 1649.

"Dr. William Fuller, late Dean of Ely.

"A little hall at the great hall ende, and also a fair hall near the free schoole and looking south on to a garden between it and the common yard, which hall contains 20 ? broad & 51 foot long within the wall, covered with lead & abutting upon the kitchen garden belonging

to the cookes kitchin for the schollers; below stairs a narrow gallery leading into the Deane's chappell.

"The Deane's chappell covered with lead, containing in length 30 f. in lat. 14 f.: underneath it an arched roome to lay wood in or coles. A faire winscotted parlor, wainscotted about 7 feet high, a garrett over and parlor leaded, and a staircase with a withdrawinge and a lodging chamber, wainscotted about and upon the . . . lookinge out upon the deanes kitchen garden, & one closett and down a little pair of staires two lodging chambers for servants, and a small room for fireing, a wainscotted entry into another room called the long matted gallery containing 84 foot in length and in breath 13 feet, and tiled with a chimney in it, hanged with damask, and under 7 windows on both sides wainscotted with deale, and at the north end a lodging chamber matted and a closett wainscotted & tyled and another chamber called the Nourserly: at the end thereof goein towards the north another chamber & goes into the library & over all covered with lead containing in lat. . . & in long. . . foote & under all these a cloister containing in lo. 67 paces and in lat. 3 paces, a great garden E from the cloister containing 32 paces in lat. and in long. 33 paces & containing by estimation half an acre.

"Another chamber above staires abutting upon a yard towards the free schoole & wainscotted upon both sides & one end 7 foot high, & one other chamber a garrett, cont . . . & covered with tyles, and out of it on to the leads over the hall and dynening roomes covered with lead, & under it a staircase a little room and a nourserly.

"And then from thence into the monkes kitchen containing in length 33 feet & lat. 33 foot within the wall & is covered with lead, and is now to be sold leaving a wall for the garden. Under a parlor & white stone chamber.

" A hall arched over & painted containing in o. 31 & in lat. 16 foot in which is a very fine well and a little sellar containing 16 foot.

" At the north end thereof is a kitchen garden containing in long. 52 paces & in lat. 23 paces.

" Prior Perm his chamber wainscotted & a closett in the chamber & one other chamber within it & over it garetts and under these a milk house.

" The Deane's kitchen under the hall & a scullery & a pastry house all arched over containing 71 foot lo. & 32 lat. a well house arched over lyeinge on the N. side and a back house, the monks kitchen containing 33 foot within and a little well yard & a larder at the stair case foot, &c. &c.

" Signed. Mr. Cromwell."

" The Parliamentary Survey, 1649.

" The Deanes } Imprimis all that capital messuage or lodgeinge. } mansion house called or known by the name of the Deane's lodging late belonging to Dr. William Ffuller, late Deane of Ely aforesaid yet livinge and being within the colledge there abutting uppon the minster north, and uppon the free schoole and chappell towards the south. A common highway called Gallery way lieth on the west and the minster and singeing schoole on the east. It consisteth of a faire hall paved with bricks containing 51 foote in length & in breadth 22 foote a parlor wainscotted & a withdrawing and a closett and a chamber over them sellered underneath. Out of the hall a long narrow gallery leading unto the Deane's chappell, the chappell containing in length 30 foote & in breadth 14 foot within the walls arched underneath. Down one pair of staires two chambers for servants one called Prior Perm's his chamber a small roome for fireinge a little entry wainscotted leading into a long room called the long matted gallery containing in length four score & four foote and in breadth fifteen foote & one matted chamber & closett

with garretts over them & covered with tyles & some other chambers called the Nourserie library & under all these a long cloyster leading into the Mynster. The kitchin garden called the mulberry yard lies west, and the greate garden lieth east, both which with the buildings contain by estimation three roods, and also of fenn grounde in a common fenn in Ely called Padnal, with the barnes & stables to the said lodgeing belonging, together with all yards ways easements rights comons, comon of pasture, in the fenns belonging to Ely, and all other profits and advantages appertaining were esteemed to be worth per valⁿ xxii*li*.

The materials of the said lodgeing, called the Deanes lodgeing, together with the ground upon which the messuage with the appurtenances are now standing, sold for being taken away, were said to be worth as followeth:—

“Imprimis. The grounde upon which the said messuage now standeth together with the chappell mulberry yard and great garden to the said messuage belonging were said to be worth iii*£*.

“Item. The materials belonging to the Deane's lodgeing worth in ready money, the charge of taking them downe considered, were estimated as followeth:—

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
“ The iron and glass . . .	iii <i>j</i>	ii <i>j</i>	ij
Bricks and stones . . .	xvii <i>j</i>	xii <i>j</i>	vij
Lead	clvi <i>j</i>	iii	
Timber	clx <i>j</i>	xix	ii <i>j</i>
Tyles	vij		
Wainscott	vij	xvj	ij
	ccclvi <i>j</i>	xv	ij”

“Memorandum.—The Deane's chappell contained in the valuation of the Deane's lodgeing and proportionally valued, is to be demolished in the next lease.

“Item. All that part or parcell of the said colledge

of Ely called or known by the name of the comon hall, or the comon hall of the colledge of Ely, with the appurtenances built with brick & stone, & covered with tyles containing in length 80 feet & in breadth 32 f. & one other room at the west end thereof with a chamber looking into the hall and a buttery together with an arched kitchen scullery & pantry under the said roomes, a well house arched over with a little yard called the well yard. A bake house & over it & the staircase leading into the hall two little roomes belonging to the auditor & also an old kitchinge with certain necessary roomes belonging to the college or schoole in the occupation of Robert Goodaye the chief cooke of the said colledge, and all which were said to be worth c. d. vj*½*l.

“Item one other building standing in a court yard before the colledge hall called the monks kitchen built with stones arched over & covered with lead, the materials whereof over & above the charge of takinge them down & leavinge a sufficient wall for the staircase & college buttery & fence for the well yard were said &c.

“Item the colledge chappell built with stone containing in length 30 feet & in breadth 14 feet arched underneath & covered with lead the materiall whereof leaving a sufficient wall for Mr. Buckeridges lodgeinge for the house & garden is estimated, &c. &c.”

In the award of the Commissioners, the monastic buildings are specified by their original names; but it will be observed that the Surveyors describe them according to the new uses they had then been made to serve. The camera which Prior John de Craudene built is “the grete hall” in the language of the award, and the “comon hall of the colledge” in that of the survey. To get rid of the confusion which is caused by this multiplication of names, an attempt has been made to arrange in a tabular form these different accounts of the halls and chambers belonging to the Prior’s hospice.

TABLE OF THE PRIORY BUILDINGS,

WHICH FORMED PART OF THE HOSPICIUM PRIORIS, AND WERE ASSIGNED TO THE DEANERY.

Historia Eliensis. Anglia Sacra, Vol. I.	Award of the Royal Commissioners A.D. 1531.	Notes for the Survey of A.D. 1649.	The Survey of A.D. 1649.
Fecit enim fieri unam novam cameram.	From the grete hall to the gallery westward.	The great hall. A little hall at the great hall ende. A fair hall near the free schole, looking south 51' X 20'. Below stairs, a gal- lery to Deanes Chappell.	The deans lodgeinge or comon hall, or comon hall of the colledge of Ely, 80' X 32'. A room at the west end, with an arched kitchen under. A fair hall paved with bricks, 51' X 22', sellered underneath. Out of the hall a long narrow gallery, leading to the deans chappell. The deanes chappell. The colledge chap- pell, 30' X 14'. The long matted gallery, 84' X 13'.
Habuit etiam ibidem studium suum.	From the olde hall, with the kechyn called the Priory Kechyn, with chappel and galery southward.	The Deanes Chappell, 30' X 14'. The long matted gallery, 84' X 13', at the northe ende. Underneath these a cloyster 67 paces X 3 paces. A great garden E. from the cloyster (half an acre).	Under all these a long cloyster leading into the minster. The kitchen garden, called the mulberry yard, lies west, and the great garden lieth east (of the cloyster). One building standing in a courtyard before the colledge hall, called the monks kitchen leaving a sufficient wall for the staircase and college buttry.
Ipsè enim fabricari fecit ad hospitium Prioris novam capellam.	The covent kechyn and the littel butre adjoining to the same.	The monkes kichin, 33' X 33'. The deanes kitchen under the hall, all arched over, 71' X 32'.	

If the dimensions given in these extracts agreed accurately with those which are supplied by the remains of the Priory existing in the deanery and adjacent houses, there might not perhaps be any great difficulty in constructing a complete plan of the Prior's hospice ; but as the Surveyors' main object was evidently to consider how much more of the monks' habitations could be pulled down and sold, and as they not only catalogued the old buildings under their new names, but also after they had been partially destroyed to suit new purposes, their report is not always easily interpreted.

There can, however, be no doubt that in 1649, when the survey was made, the Dean's residence was the house which is now occupied by the Registrar of the Dean and Chapter. The "Deanes lodgeinge" is described first as "a little hall at the great hall ende," secondly as "a fair hall near the free schoole looking south," and thirdly as "abutting upon the minster north & uppon the free schoole & chappell towards the south." A highway called Gallery way is said to lie "on the west." It has been already pointed out that the high road from Walpol's gate to the west porch of the cathedral is still called the Gallery, and it is so named in Speed's map, Plate 24. The building which stands close upon the road is the free school referred to by the Surveyors, and the fair hall is the narrow structure which is connected with the north-east angle of the free school and with the south-west angle of the great hall. It is a long and rather narrow building, having a carefully constructed crypt for its basement, and appears to occupy the site of an older one, which was part of the west boundary of the monastery.

A small portion of an ancient wagon vault is shown in the plan at the north end of what may be called "the fair hall," and it is probable that it originally extended

"A description of the cathedral church of Ely," by George Millers, 3rd edit. p. 114.

much further in both directions. In 1649 a long narrow gallery led from the hall to the Prior's chapel, and some remains of it were still standing when the late Registrar, the Rev. G. Millers, first went to live at Ely. This covered passage went from the chapel door to the south-east angle of the hall, where the old door arch may still be seen. Although the architectural features of the hall are nearly destroyed, there is very little doubt that it was built by the Prior or monks along with his chapel, and the existence of this private passage between the two is implied in the words quoted from the "*Historia*," in page 248.

The long matted gallery, with its damask hangings and fireplace, has entirely disappeared. According to the Surveyors' measurements, it was a mere passage extending from south to north, wainscotted with deal, and leading into a library, a nursery, and other rooms, which had a cloister under them leading into the minster, and a garden on the east. It was 84 feet in length, which is a rough approximation to the distance between the great hall and the site of the south alley of the cloister. If this measure may be trusted, the gallery did not connect the cloister directly with what has been distinguished as the fair hall. It was probably the way from some other part of the Prior's residence to the cathedral. The richly ornamented Norman door arch between the south side aisle of the nave, and the cloister, is still called by tradition the Prior's door.

The notes for the survey refer to "a hall arched over & painted," 31 feet long by 16 feet broad, with a garden on the north. The dimensions seem to fit the site once occupied by the refectory, opening into the cloister, which will be mentioned in page 261, and of which the remains have been completely identified. The dimensions cannot belong to the great hall, which

was evidently built by Prior John de Craudene for the great guest hall of the Priory, and was then in use as a common hall for the school or college of Ely.

The cook had his rooms at the west end, close to the bakehouse and great kitchen of the monks, which has been since destroyed. The hall was at that time fitted up "for the schollers to dynne in," "with 3 tables, with benches windscotted at the backes, & 3 formes, & a skreene with a cupbords head adjoyneinge thereunto." It was "something out of repair in tyle & glass, & over it 3 Rayneish roomes."

The vaults of the basement resemble, in the arrangement of the ribs, those which Bishop John de Hotham introduced in the north side aile of his addition to the presbytery, except in the fifth, or western compartment, which has no liernes, but merely plain diagonal ribs.

It is possible that these changes of style in the Prior's work were due to the same causes which influenced the Bishop in lengthening the presbytery.

When men capable of conceiving buildings of the highest order were also the superintendents of the execution of their own designs, they very naturally, and very properly, modified and amended their first impressions whenever they thought change desirable.

The whole structure abuts at its west end on the massive walls of a very ancient wagon-vaulted chamber, or passage, which has been already pointed out in connection with another part of the Prior's hospice.

At the east end of the guest hall there was a buttery, which was described in the award of the Commissioners as "The littel butre adjoyning the covent kechyn," and when the monastery buildings passed into new hands it was ordered to be preserved that it might be used as the buttery of the hall of the college which the Commissioners proposed to establish on the ruins of the priory. When their scheme was modified and the hall

was given up to other purposes, the "littel butre" became part of the deanery kitchen, and some remains of it may still be seen there. There can be no doubt that it belonged to some part of the priory which was built long before the guest hall of John of Crauden, with which it became incorporated; but whether it was the buttery of a guest hall which his displaced, or was connected with the refectory which was built in the thirteenth century, is a point which must be left in doubt.

The monks' kitchen stood at the north-east angle of the guest hall, or, in the words of the survey, "before the colledge hall." It is said to have been a lofty Norman chamber, thirty-three feet square, "arched over and covered with lead," and the remains, which are now incorporated with the walls of the deanery, or else buried in the garden, correspond with this brief description. It was destroyed by order of the Surveyors, with the exception of those parts of the walls which could be used for the staircase leading to the common hall.

Mr. Bentham supposed that what is now called the monks' kitchen was the remains of the old chapter house, but there is no satisfactory foundation for this opinion. It is at variance with the evidence found in the Commissioners' award, and there is also clear documentary proof that the chapter house at Ely was in the usual position on the east side of the cloister. The east and west walls were carried as far as the thick wall lettered E in the plan, Plate 2, although the kitchen itself is said not to have extended so far to the north.

The thick wall just mentioned, which runs from east to west across the deanery garden, is all that is left of a refectory which was probably begun A.D. 1270, when Robert de Leverington was Prior of Ely, and was still in course of construction in the third year of the reign of Edward I., when John de Hemmingstone had succeeded to that office. An imperfect account of the

3 Ed. I.
 { 20 Nov. 1274. }
 { 20 Nov. 1275. }

erection of this building is preserved in the MSS. of the library of Lambeth Palace.

“Nota de fabrica novi refectorii ecclesiæ cathedralis Eliensis in anno domini mclxx etc. unde ad hujus modi constructionem faciendam Fratres Johannes de Schepey et Johannes Ramesey monachi receperunt pecunias collectas per eosdem anno regni Edward tertio et Johannis prioris secundo, ad festum sancti Michaelis et deinceps.

Lambeth Palace
Library MS.,
448.

3 Ed. I.
{ 20 Nov. 1274. }
{ 20 Nov. 1275. }

“Ad festum sanctæ Etheldredæ virginis et Reginæ de Sacrista, xjs.

“De ecclesia de Stapilford, vs.

“De Brecham et amicis et hæredibus suis ad festum sanctæ Katharinæ, xxs.

“De molendinum de Wythlesey et Tryplawe, xxs.

“De camarar’ ad festum conceptionis beatæ mariæ cum vs., de Suttoun et Triplawe xvs.

“De ecclesia de Haukestoun in festo sancti Thomæ martir per camararium, xs.

“De ceteris officiariis et petanciariis per annum usque ad summum, xli. vijs.

“De anniversariis Episcoporum Regum priorum et aliorum per annum, xvli. vs. viij*d*.

“De dote uxoris Radulphi Metefoy de Dullyngham in Triplawe, xxxijs.

“De domino priore pro petanciis quas ipse consuevit solvere conventui, vii*li*. xiijs.”

This refectory extended in width as far as the south walk of the cloister, and communicated with it by a door which is mentioned in the instructions for novices : —“Postquam loti fuerint, ipsi qui sunt ex parte episcopi stent in australi parte claustrum juxta ostium refectorii.”

Lambeth Palace
Library MS.,
448.

Between the fraternity and convent kitchen there was a passage or small room, which in the rolls of the Sacrist is described under the general term, *le tresauce*. For example, “in stipendio Willelmi Hancock operantis in

Sacrist's roll,
3 Hen. VII.
{ 22 Aug. 1487. }
{ 21 Aug. 1488. }

coquina convēntus, viz ponendo sparrez super le tresaunce inter refectorium et dictam coquinam, per iij dies, xij*d*. In stipendio ejusdem operantis super parvam cameram in coquina, in gists ponendo et bordando per iiij^{or} dies xv*j**d*. In stipendio Willelmi Plumbe pro coopertura dicte camere et le Tresaunce per viij dies, ijs. In vadiis Thomæ Wellys tegulatoris operantis super domos pistriini brasini, et le tresaunce, pincernam, et coquinam, per xxviij dies hoc anno, cxijs. viij*d*.”

Treasurer's roll,
8 Henry VIII.
{ 22 April, 1516.
 21 April, 1517. }

The tresaunce which is alluded to in the above extracts may have been the promptuarium, the store-room or buttery, which is mentioned in other documents, and was very properly placed between the kitchen and dining hall :—“ In panno lineo pro portpayn in promptuario empto v*j**d*.”

“ The olde hall,” which was part of the Prior's palace, was made over originally to the eighth canon, Mr. Ward, who had been a monk on the elder foundation.

In the survey it is described as “ another great kechyn, a larder all vaulted over with stone,” and “ over the arches ” was “ the newe hall,” which in 1649 was thirty-one feet in length and twenty-three in breadth.

The old hall is the oldest part of the Norman monastery which is left, and may have been built in Abbot Symeon's time. It probably became the basement of a more magnificent building in the reign of Edward the Second, or Third, when the monks spent their revenues so freely in the extension and repair of all the official residences in the Priory, for there are very few remains of the old monastery which have not traces of work which may be attributed to the masons of Alan de Walsingham or John de Craudene. The new hall was most likely carried over the whole length of the Norman basement, and there are traces of a large window which may have lighted it from the south. A handsome fireplace and door arch are all that have escaped the wholesale

destruction which it underwent when it became a modern dwelling-house.

The old hall appears to be referred to by name in the following extract from a roll kept by the Prior's Treasurer, in the time of Henry the Eighth:—"Reparaciones. In diversis reparaciōibus per dictum compu-

Treasurer's roll.
18 Hen^{ry} VIII.
{ 22 April, 1526. }
{ 21 April, 1527. }

tantem hoc anno factis, scilicet in et super domum torale,
iijs. ix*d*.
 plumbum in domo carnificis, coquina domini prioris,
xxjs. viijs. v*d*. ob.
xxij*d*. ob. portas elieneses, veterem aulam et pandochium, cameram
viijs. iiij*d*.
xv*d*. capellani domini prioris, in toto, ut per librum dicti
 computantis patet, xxxiijs. v*d*."

It is mentioned also in another roll of the same period, the exact date of which is unknown:—"In vadiis Willelmi Percey carpentarii et Thomæ Wellys operantis ibidem (le parclos super gradus ad lixam) et super veterem aulam per v dies, cijs. iiij*d*."

The Prior's kitchen, which is mentioned in the Commissioners' description of the Dean's lodging, was at the north end of the old Norman hall, and still further to the north were, in later times, the Auditor's office and room, which occupied the site, or part of the site, of the drawing-room of the present deanery.

The Auditor's residence, as described by the Surveyors, was bounded on the north by the monks' kitchen, and on the south by the Prior's kitchen.

"The Auditor's chamber. Mr. Tho. Wiborow, Elder, for life, as auditor, hath a part of the buildinge adjoyneing to the munkes kitchen, a closett over the hall staires, a chamber, both leaded over, a little kitchin & a sinke house & vaulted underneath, a little yard on the east side thereof containing by estimation 6 perches."

These extensions of the rude Norman chamber were destroyed by Dean Pearce, in order to enlarge his residence. Traces of the old walls and of the Prior's

chimney were very visible a few years ago, and, in the early part of Mr. Millers' residence at Ely, the Auditor's rooms had been but little disturbed. The garden of the Registrar's house now occupies the site of the kitchen of the Priory, and to some extent that of the Auditor's apartments, or audite house.

To the east of the Prior's hospice there was once a building called the Knights' Chamber or Lodging, which the Surveyors described as follows :—" One orchard & garden lying south of the said lodging, & in another little garden & courtyard lying in the east part, another part of the lodgings lying east of the little garden called the Knights' Lodging containing a kichen and closett below the staires a chamber & closett over them & garetted over, all built with stone & covered with tyles."

This chamber was built on vaults, and was originally assigned to the eight petit canons, but it is hardly necessary to remark that there is not a stone left to mark the place which it once occupied.

By grouping together the Prior's kitchen, monks' kitchen, refectory, and guest hall, many obvious advantages were secured. It was a rule of the Benedictines that the brotherhood should not be disturbed by the entrance of strangers into their convent and refectory. The Prior had to find accommodation for all guests of distinction, and the table of the guest hall was to be supplied from his kitchen, without interfering with that which the monks used.

Surtees Society
Publications.
Rites of Dur-
ham, p. 76.

At Durham the master of the guest hall was appointed "to geve intertaynment to all staitis, both noble, gentle & what degree so ever that came thether as strangers, ther interteynment not being inferior to any place in Ingland both for the goodnes of ther diett, the sweete and daintie furneture of there lodgings & generally all things necessarie for traveillers ;" but

their table was served by the Prior exclusively :—"The victualls that served the said geists came from the great kitching of the Prior, the bread and beare from his pantrie & seller." To meet such a regulation it would be most convenient to have the Prior's kitchen near the guest hall, and arrangements that were found by experience to be suited to daily wants soon became general.

At Glastonbury, the Abbot's dwelling, the guest hall and refectory are supposed to have stood close together on the south of the cloister. The refectory was built in connection with the south alley of the cloister at Westminster, Durham, Peterborough, Fountains, Kirkstall, Finchall, S. Gall, and probably at Furness. At Norwich a kitchen was placed between the refectory, which was on the south side of the cloister, and the residence of the celerer and guests' apartments, which occupied the west side. At Finchall there was one at the end of the refectory. At Canterbury, although all the monastic buildings were grouped together on the north side of the church, instead of the south, their relative positions were those usually adopted. The refectory joined the cloister, and a kitchen stood between it and a guest hall, as was the case at Ely, where two kitchens and butteries were the link between three of the principal buildings—the Prior's hospice, the refectory, and the guest hall.

The dormitory of a monastery was almost invariably a long narrow room, having its length from north to south, and so closely connected with the church that in all seasons, and at all hours of the day or night, access from the one to the other was possible without unnecessary exposure to the wind or rain. The object of such an arrangement is self-evident.

In many of the large monasteries, such as Durham, Fountains, Kirkstall, Jervaulx, Whalley, and others,

this bedroom was built so as to abut on the side aisle of the nave at its west end, and thus to form the west side of a large quadrangle; but in some cases, as at Westminster, Norwich, and Peterborough, for example, the dormitory was an extension of the east transept of the church, standing parallel to the east alley of the great cloister.

In the one group of abbeys the monks, of course, entered the west end of their church from their sleeping chamber, and in the other their way to the choir was through the east transept.

At Ely the second plan was selected, and the great common bedchamber was entered from the south arm of the east transept. The remains of this dormitory are now reduced to one compartment of the vaulted basement, which is used as the laundry of one of the canon's houses. The width of the original building is, of course, given by the vault, but the length is unknown. Traces of the walls were said by Mr. Millers to have existed as far southwards as is shown in the plan, Plate 2. The chapter-house stood between its north end and the transept, as at Norwich and Peterborough, and the church was probably entered by a passage above the vault of the chapter-house, leading to the winding staircase which still stands in the south-east angle of the east cross aisle. Traces of a similar arrangement have been found at Westminster, where the chapter-house, vestibule, and vestry came between the church and dormitory.

In the south wall of the east transept there are the remains of communications with buildings external to the church, which may represent other, or older approaches to the dormitory.

In the time of Edward III. the dormitory was thatched, according to the evidence of a Sacrist's

account, in which the following entry is found:—"In roscis emptis pro dormitorio emendando, iiij*s.* v*d.* In stipendiis cujusdam arundinatoris pro dormitorio emendando, per loca, post flatus magni ventis, i*s.* v*d.*"

Sacrist's roll,
8 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1334.
24 Jan. 1335. }

Twenty years later a better roof had replaced the rushes, a plumber was repairing the lead, and a large window was being inserted:—"Soluti Radulpho Rysyng pro una fenestra vitrea in dormitorio de novo facienda cum apparatu, viij*li.* v*s.* Item eidem pro lx clav' empt pro vitro attach' x*d.* . . . Soluti Rogero plumbario operanti super dormitorium, refectorium, et in officio, per vices, ante Natal' domini, x*s.* x*d.* Soluti Rogero vitrario de Meldeburne pro emendando vitro in ingressu dormitorii, v*d.*"

In the year 1359-60 the changes appear to have become still more extensive, and the roll of the Sacrist contained a separate dormitory account, or "custus dormitorii," which was necessary whenever the annual expenses exceeded those caused by the usual necessary repairs.

Carpenters were then employed in constructing a new roof:—"In stipendio Johannis Chardacre et ij hom' facientium Gowepeciz dormitorii per xij septim' iiij*li.* x*s.*, capientis per septim' vi*s.*, et in j roba empt' eidem Johanni xs. ex conventione." This roof was probably left alone till the whole building was levelled by the Commissioners, when the monastery was suppressed.

Sacrist's roll,
33 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1359.
24 Jan. 1360. }

At Durham the dormitory was under the charge of the Supprior, "who did caule at every Monnckes chambre" about midnight, to "se good order kept." He had the first "chambre in the dortor," and took charge of the keys of the seller, fratre, cloisters, and dortor from six at night till seven the next morning. At Ely, the supervision was provided for by the statutes in a similar way:—"Et idcirco, ut prorsus tollatur

Surtees Society
Publications.
Rites of Dur-
ham, p. 73.

Statuta Monasterii
Eliensis,
A.D. 1300.

ocasio delinquendi, custodia claustrī refectorii et dormitorii certis committatur personis ita quod nulla mulier intrare permittatur loca predicta nec infirmatorium neque chorum, precipue quando cantatur ibidem divinum officium, nisi forte tempore consecrationis, et indulgenciarum, et in festis principalibus ecclesie, ac processionibus solempnibus, sen exequiis mortuorum aliquas mulieres per claustrum vel chorum transire contigerit, exceptis nobilibus quibus aliquociens non posset introitus ex causa honesta comode denegari."

From the vaults on which the dormitory stood there was a passage which led eastward into the infirmary, and was called the dark cloister. It appears to have formed part of the buildings attached to the first stall of the new corporation, and is mentioned in the following passage extracted from the Surveyor's report:—
"Consisting of a faire hall, parler, kitchen, a common passage under them called the dark cloyster, &c."

Only one side of this passage has been left standing, and it has been saved in order to make a wall for the back yard of a canon's house. Between two of the buttresses a dust-hole has been made, which has concealed, and consequently preserved, the architectural features of the open arcade by which this cloister was partially lighted. The openings were closed with shutters, of which the hooks are left, and there seems to have been an iron screen across the passage, which kept it distinct from the infirmary:—"In viij barris de ferro pro claustro includendo versus infirmariam iiij*d*."

Sacrist's roll,
16 Ed. II.
{ 8 July, 1322. }
{ 7 July, 1323. }

The vault has been unfortunately entirely ruined, but the width of the cloister was about thirteen feet, according to the Surveyors' notes. The remains of this cloister are very interesting to those who can admire specimens of the designs and workmanship of the masons of the Middle Ages.

Above the vaults there were various chambers, and amongst them was one which had been a school, in which the monks taught children to read :—

“Item the singeing school, and antiently a school to teach children to read, is now in the tenure of Robert Claxton, late organist’s master. A common arched way is under it, &c.” Thus much is supplied from the notes of the Surveyors, but they describe it more fully in their report :—

“The singinge schoole. A pretty house, vaulted underneath, built with stone, and covered with tyles containing in long. in the wall 42, and in lat. 13 foote, and consisteth of 2 roomes above in occupation of Robt. Claxton, the singinge master, and at the stairs head, over against the schoole dore another roome with a parlor taken out of it for a place to play upon the vyall in. Robert Hynde, clarke and usher of the free schoole, as vicar of the church, holds a little tenement next unto the singinge schoole, and another little roome at the staires head, and a kitchen which is vaulted underneath, in which vault is usually layd tymber for the repairing of the collidge, &c., &c.”

The position of the school at Ely is almost the same as that which a similar building occupied at Durham. There the school for poor children was in “the fermery chamber withowte the abbey gates,” where there were also rooms for four aged women, who were “founde and fedd onely with the releefe that came from the Prior’s own meyss.” The Schoolmaster was one of the monks who lived over the infirmary, and said mass in its chapel. He or “soume other preest for hime was ordeyned and appoynted to saye masse to the iiij^{or}. ould womene every holie daie and Friday.”

The infirmary to which the dark cloister gave access was built with three ailes, like those of Canterbury and Peterborough, to which it bore, in its plan, a very

strong resemblance. At Norwich the infirmitorium was on the west side of the dormitory, but at Westminster it seems to have been on the east of the cloister, nearly parallel to the presbytery, as at Ely.

When Mr. Bentham published his *History and Antiquities of the cathedral*, the subject of Saxon architecture had been scarcely investigated at all, and very little was known of the peculiar characteristics of buildings erected when the Norman style was coming to a close. He adopted, accordingly, the opinion held by antiquaries of the last century, and pronounced the infirmary to be the actual church built by Etheldreda about the year 673, when she settled at Ely, after running away from her second husband.

Mr. Essex contributed to the addenda to Mr. Bentham's *History* an account of "The Conventual Church," as it was called, in which he accepted this theory, and attributed to Duke Brithnoth and King Edgar the extension of the church eastward about the year 970.

It is not singular that the uses and age of the building should have been misunderstood by writers eighty or ninety years ago; but it is curious that the popular error should have been upheld by Mr. Bentham, who had studied with so much care the documents connected with the history of the priory, which contain the most satisfactory proof that he was entirely in the wrong.

In the first place, Monk Thomas states in his history of the monastery, that the Norman church occupied the site and actually displaced the walls of the earlier one, page 39, and there is also the evidence of the Commissioners' award, in which the building is unmistakably called the monks' infirmary. There can be no doubt that Mr. Bentham had read both these documents, and they are very conclusive against his

opinion. If this evidence were insufficient, the style of the architecture would be a strong proof that neither Brithnoth nor Etheldreda had anything to do with the building.

When Mr. Millers wrote his "Description of the Cathedral Church of Ely," he did not attempt to question the decision laid down by his predecessor, but acknowledged that he was "indebted to Mr. Bentham for many of his statements." After he had had time to examine the question for himself, he became perfectly aware that the old theory was untenable.

The actual date of the erection of the infirmary is unknown, but it must have been built during the 12th century.

It is probable that the chapel at the east end was built by Bishop Ridel, who added so largely to the west end of the cathedral. This conjecture is neither suggested nor supported by any of the documents which have been consulted, for the infirmary is very seldom alluded to, but the architectural features of the remains of the chapel correspond so closely with work known to have been erected by the Bishop at the west end of the church, that there can be very little doubt as to the date of this addition to the infirmary.

The officers of the monastery whose official residences were connected with the infirmary, are not named in the award, with the exception of the Celerer and the Keeper of the black hostelry.

"The Celerer's logen" at Norwich was on the west side of the great cloister, but at Ely it appears to have had some part of the infirmary for its northern boundary, and to have extended as far as the dormitory, occupying the rooms which stood on vaults over the dark cloister, and were not required for the monks' school. It was bounded on the east by the black hostelry, which in like manner extended to the in-

firmary on the north. Ely, like other rich foundations, had no doubt its hostelry for poor travellers, as well as one for stranger monks, which was quite distinct from that in which the guests were lodged whom the Prior entertained; but very little is known of these arrangements, and the social position of the guests who were entertained at the black hostelry must be left to conjecture. One of the gates of the priory was called "*Ostium versus hostelerium monachorum*," and this fact suggests that some accommodation for stranger monks was placed close to the wall which separated the priory from the town, just as the hostelry for paupers at Canterbury was built close to one of the convent gates.

The Hostelarius at Ely had considerable revenues at his disposal. His office was endowed by Bishop Hervey with estates at Stretham, and by Bishop Eustace with the rectory of Meldreth.

Lambeth Palace
Library MS.,
448.

"*Eustachius episcopus contulit ecclesiam de Melreth cum omnibus pertinenciis in perpetuum in proprios usus domus hospitalitatis Eliensis et Robertus Everwic electus Eliensis confirmat ecclesiam de Melreth monachis Eliensibus in proprios usus domus hospitalitatis eorum per cartam suam. Johannes, episcopus Eliensis, concessit et confirmavit per cartam suam ecclesiam de Melreth cum omnibus pertinenciis et libertatibus suis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam in proprios usus convertendam ad sustentacionem hospitem ibidem convenientium.*"

Sacrist's roll,
2 Rich. II.
{ 22 June, 1378. }
{ 21 June, 1379. }

By similar gifts other Bishops appropriated the rectories of Wichford, Sutton, Melbourn, and Wicham to the same use, viz., "*causa hospitalitatis sectandæ et religionis aumentandæ.*" The hostelry had its own chaplains, like all the other important departments in the priory which were ruled over by monks specially selected to fulfil particular duties.

In modern times the path on the south of the canons' houses which have usurped the site of the black hostelry, is commonly called Oyster-lane, and if this can be accepted as a corruption of Hostelry-lane, it may be allowable to conclude that the black hostre was in its day a very important one.

When Mr. Bentham was alive, there were old walls standing on the south of the infirmary which have since been entirely removed. The plan of them which he published, has been copied in that which is engraved in Plate 2. As Mr. Bentham assumed the infirmary to be Etheldreda's church, he naturally considered the old walls which joined it to be the remains of the monastery erected in her lifetime.

It must be remembered, however, that the Fermerye of a priory was not intended for sick monks only, but also for those who were infirm, or even refractory; and if this rule was carried out at Ely as at other similar places, separate chambers must have been provided for the reception of each class of inmates, besides gardens, bath-houses, and kitchens, together with a house for the Physician, and possibly a bleeding-house, as it was called.

The Benedictine rule enjoined that a monastery should, if possible, contain within its own bounds all that could be wanted for the ordinary purposes of life, and in many of the convents there was a physic garden near the residence of the Physician, where herbs were grown for the drug store.

In early times many diseases were treated with baths, and accordingly in Benedictine convents a bath was provided for the sick and kept almost entirely for their use. The young and the old monks were alike forbidden to indulge in what was then considered to be a luxury without a special permission:—"Senioribus autem et maxime juvenibus tardius concedatur."

There is no reason to suppose that these customs were not observed at Ely as they were in other convents. The statutes required that a Doctor should reside in the Priory, and although there is nothing said respecting his residence, it may be assumed that he had his chambers near the infirmary, which was certainly more or less under his direction. The Balneator is mentioned in the list of mandata distributed at certain seasons, and one of the Priory gates was called "Ostium versus balnearium." The infirmary garden was on the south of the infirmary, and was assigned, along with the infirmary kitchen and black hostrie, to the third stall. The gardiner was a regular servant of the Priory, whose stipend appears annually in the Treasurer's rolls, as for example:—"In stipendio gardinarii infirmariæ per ann. xiijs. iiij*l*."

Treasurer's roll,
15 Ed. IV.
{ 4 March, 1475. }
{ 3 March, 1476. }

It is very likely, therefore, that the old walls and rooms which Mr. Bentham, and Mr. Essex, took to be the nuns' dormitory and refectory, were nothing more than the necessary buildings attached to the Norman infirmary, which was built long after Etheldreda's time.

William Powcher, who was Prior from 1401 to 1418, built a hall which was probably connected with the Fernery, and used when the monks were bled or dosed with physic:—

Lambeth Palace
Library MS.,
No. 449.

"Iste fecit fieri per fratrem Thomam Elyngham aulam maria, quasi de novo, pro minutionibus ibidem tenendis anno d . . . mccccxvi.

The building is apparently the same as that to which an entry in a Sacrist's roll of the sixteenth century refers:—In stipendio duorum carpentariorum pro reparacione de le Tresaunce versus aulam minutionum per vij dies, iiij*l*s. vij*l*.

Sacrist's roll,
3 Hen. VII.
{ 22 Aug. 1487. }
{ 21 Aug. 1488. }

Publications of
Surtees Society,
Rites of Dur-
ham, p. 75.

In the Durham infirmary there was a prison called the Lynghouse, or Lyingehouse, "which was ordeyned for all such as were greate offenders," so that if any

monk had been convicted of any grave moral offence, "he should have sytten ther in prisone for the space of one hole yere, in cheynes, without any company except the master of the Fermery, who did let downe there meate thorowgh a trap dour in a corde, being a great distance from them," and at Ely there was a chamber called Helle, which may have been applied to similar purposes.

The room is mentioned in a roll of early date :—
 "Item in stipendio Henri de Walton operantis super camera in Infirmaria quæ vocatur Helle xiiij*d*. In stipendio Will de Overe garcionis sui viij*d*."

Sacrist's roll,
 16 Ed. II.
 { 8 July, 1322. }
 { 7 July, 1323. }

The infirmary was endowed by Bishop Nigel with the rectory of Wratting and two fisheries. "Notandum quod Nigellus episcopus contulit ad infirmariam monachorum Eliensium ecclesiam de Wrattyngge et *minus molendinum de Stoke*, et duas piscarias quasi vocatas Senelones (?) et Predeligge, et totam terram quæ fuit Engeleri presbiteri in Cokia."

Lambeth Palace
 Library MSS.
 No. 448.

Underlined in
 MS.

Opposite to the Celerer's rooms, and on the north side of the infirmary, there was a hall called the paynted chamber, which appears to have been partly built in the aisle of the infirmary. There is nothing whatever known of its early history. It is mentioned in a Sacrist's roll dated in the reign of Henry VII.; but the entry has no particular interest :—"Solut' pro lateys ad fenestras picte camere, et granarii in Sacristaria ijs. viij*d*."

When the Survey was drawn up, "the Archdeacons lodgeinge" and "the Lecturers house" had been established there. "The Lecturers house, called the old mans house, lyeth betweene a prebends lodgeinge called the Archdeacons lodgeinge and the organists masters lodgeinge &c. &c."

To the east of the painted chamber there was another hall, called in the award "the Gent Hall," which was

Anglia Sacra 1.
646.

also an intrusion on the aile of the infirmary, and was no doubt built by Alan de Walsyngham. It is the camera referred to in the following passage in the *Historia*:—"Construxit etiam unam cameram lapideam plumbo tectam pulcram valde contiguam in Infirmaria habentem cameram superiorem cum duobus caminis et inferiorem cum uno largo camino et puteo aquæ cum parvo celario sub custodia Infirmarii qui tempore fuerit, et dispositioni Prioris et conventus post obitum fratris Alani remansuram."

Sacrist's roll,
8 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1334.
 24 Jan. 1335. }

This infirmary hall was in process of erection in the eighth year of the reign of Edward III. The Sacrist's roll had at that time a special heading:—"Custus teglarie et nove camere. Item. Solut' Henrico Pavag' pro stipendio suo una cum stipend' aliorum cementariorum et operariorum pro dicta camera, ut patet per parcellas, xxiiij*li*. xiijs. xjd."

The infirmary chapel at the east end of the building became the residence attached to the fifth stall.

The Norman cloister of Abbot Richard's monastery has been totally destroyed, and replaced by one of which only a few fragments are standing. The inner east pane of this cloister was preserved to make a wall for the Dean's garden. It was rebuilt in the first year of the reign of Henry VIII., and is the last dated work of which any record has been found. The following entry is copied from a Sacrist's roll:—"Et in diversis reparationibus hoc anno factis super orientalem partem claustrum cum stuffura ad idem, et novi edificationis ejusdem et ij^m fenestrarum ultra, ex parte boreali ejusdem, ut in parcellis per librum dicti computantis patet cxxiiij*li*. vjs. ix*d*."

Sacrist's roll,
1 Henry VIII.
{ 22 April, 1509.
 21 April, 1510. }

It is probable that the whole cloister was repaired or built at that time, according to the contents of other rolls, but as the Sacrist's accounts have been lost, very little is known on the subject. The entry which follows

occurs in a Treasurer's roll of the 16th century, of which the heading has been damaged:—"Decimæ. Soluti ad quartam partem unius decimæ pro reparationibus claustrum hoc anno xiiij^{li}. xij^d."

At Durham, the master of the novices had "a pretty seat of wainscott" on the south side of the treasury door, in the west alley of the cloister, and "over against the stall where the novices sate. And there he taught the said novices forenoon or afternoon. No strangers or other persons were suffered to molest or trouble the said novices or monks in their carrels while they were at their books within the cloister."

There are some traces of a similar arrangement having been adopted at Ely.

The chapter-house was entered from the east walk of the cloister, as at Durham, Canterbury, Peterborough, Norwich, Jervaulx, Kirkstall, and many other convents. The door was flanked by two windows, and it is known that the floor was raised above the level of the cloister, as the steps leading into the room are mentioned in the directions drawn up for the use of novices.

The vaulted roof is mentioned in the following extract from the Sacrist's accounts:—"In stipendio unius lathami et servientis sui operantis super voltam domus capitularis in le gabel ende per ij dies, xij^d."

Sacrist's roll,
1 Henry VII.
{ 22 Aug. 1485. }
{ 21 Aug. 1486. }

The Parliator was appointed to keep the chapter-house door, and received a fee from the Treasurer, which was charged against the Priory in the following form:—"Soluti parliatori ex conventionem pro hostio capituli tempore quo conventus fuerit in capitulo custodiendo per ann. iiij^s."

Treasurer's roll,
2 Hen. VI.
{ 1 Sept. 1423. }
{ 31 Aug. 1424. }

The cloister was lighted at night with a lamp, which was useful to the monks when they left their dormitory. The candles commonly used were made of peeled rushes dipped in grease, and, according to the Sacrist's accounts, the monks had them made of two sizes:—

Sacrist's rolls,
20 Ed. I.
{ 20 Nov. 1291. }
{ 20 Nov. 1292. }

21 Ed. I.
{ 20 Nov. 1292. }
{ 20 Nov. 1293. }

19 Ed. II.
{ 8 July, 1325. }
{ 7 July, 1326. }

"Pro candelis parvis factis xix*d*." "Pro xvij cent' millibus rose' pilat' xiijs. ij*d*." The cloister, however, required more light than the ordinary candles were capable of producing, and was furnished with a lamp, which is specially mentioned in the monk's records:—"In magna lucerna de claustro emendanda iiij*d*."

According to the common custom, it was the business of the Priory cook to trim the cloister lamp with grease from the monks' kitchen, that a light might be always got without delay whenever it was wanted. There was also in the chapter-house a cresset which was always burning; and in the dark evenings of winter, when the Portitor lucernæ led the novices to supper in the refectory, or walked before them to their dormitory, he was directed to light his lantern at this cresset, and to leave it there when his duties were ended.

Sacrist's roll,
8 Hen. VIII.
{ 22 April, 1516. }
{ 21 April, 1517. }

There was a laver well at Ely, which is mentioned in one of the latest Sacrist's rolls:—"In reparacione situ-larum pro fontibus infra officium, et le laver well, iiij*d*."

The remains of a laver well at Durham are still left in the middle of the cloister garth; but the site of the Ely one is not known. As the Benedictine regulations prescribed the washing of feet and the cleansing of linen by the monks in turn, it may have been used for these purposes, or to supply the lavatories with water, and it may have likewise stood within the cloister garth, as the Durham laver well did.

There was a lavatory, or lavacrum, in the cloister, at which the novices washed their hands before they went to dinner, and also their feet, when required to do so by the rules under which they lived.

There is an entry of the cost of mending this cloister lavatory in the Sacrist's accounts for the 16th year of the reign of Richard II.

At Peterborough there are the remains of a lavatory in the cloister, and the same is the case at Canterbury.

The Lotrix conventus hung up towels every week at the cloister laver for the use of the Novices, as well as others in the dormitory, which they brought with them when they washed their feet.

At Durham the towels were kept in an almyry in the south alley of the cloister, near the refectory door; "for there was a faire almerie joyned in the wall and another of the other syd of the said dowr, and all the fore part of the almeries was thorowgh carved worke for to geve ayre to the towels & iij dors in the for part of either almerie and a locke on every dowre and every mouncke had a key for the said alneryes wherein did hinge in every almerie cleane towels for the mounckes to drie there hands on when they washed & went to dynner."

Publications of
the Surtees
Society.
Rites of
Durham.

It appears from a passage in the instructions for novices, that their locus parliamenti, or locutory, was somewhere at the north-west angle of the cloister and near the door of the chapel of S. Katherine:—"Procedant novitii in claustrum ad locum parliamenti fere usque ad ostium capellæ beatæ Katerinæ."

This chapel was probably the apsidal one, opening into the west transept, and corresponding in position to the chapel dedicated to S. Katherine in the old church of S. Edmund at Bury; which, in respect of its general plan, resembles very closely the church at Ely.

In a Sacrist's roll of early date, an entry remains which proves that the building was an independent portion of the church, with its own special roof:—"In bordo empto pro guttera capellæ Sçe Katerinæ emendanda *vd.*"

Sacrist's roll,
16 Ed. II.
{ 8 July, 1322 }
{ 7 July, 1323 }

The use to which it was applied when the Norman campanile threatened to fall upon the choir, shows that it was situated in a part of the church so far distant from the central tower, that the monks could meet there without apprehension of danger from the crumbling masonry over their heads.

These facts, taken together, are perhaps sufficient to warrant the conjecture as to the site of the novices' place of meeting. The position of the monks' locutory must be left in doubt, as it cannot be made out from the very general terms in which it is mentioned in the rolls kept by the monks.

The site of the Treasury is unknown, and the same must be said with respect to the office of the Pitantarius, the Scriptorium, and many other buildings which once stood in the Priory.

Lambeth Palace
Library MSS.,
No. 448.

The Scriptorium was endowed by Bishop Nigel with the tithes of Impington, Whittlesey, &c.:—"Nigellus episcopus contulit ecclesiam de Wytelesey et Ympetone ad libros faciendos et duas partes decimæ dominicæ de Pamperesworth, et duos solidos et duos denarios in Huntyngdone et unum mansum in Ely."

One of the Precentors was at the head of this department, and from the contents of a roll of the 14th century, he appears to have had charge of a distinct and important building.

Precentor's roll,
18 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1344.
{ 24 Jan. 1345. }

"Compotus fratrum Thome de Thetford junioris precentoris Eliensis et Thome de Somersham socii sui de omnibus receptis, &c.

"Custos domorum murorum et gardini.

"Soluti iiij hominibus conductis pro terra carienda in gardinum precentoris et pro lignis succidendis et ympez plantandis per vj dies ad taxam viijs. cuilibet per diem iiij*d*."

The Precentor provided parchment, paper, and ink, paid for painting and repairing the organs, found the wages of the organ-blowers, and was also charged with the duty of having all the service books in the choir bound. The ink used in the Priory was made in his office with galls, gum, and copperas:—"In gallez, gummez, et caperose empt' pro incausto inde faciendo iijs. viij*d*."

It is not unlikely that the modern word ink is only the abbreviated form, *inc'*, often used in old accounts for the word *incaustum* which the monks adopted.

The duties of the monk who held the office of Precentor, are partly defined in the ordinances issued by Bishop Orford in the 14th century :—" Item ut unusquisque in officio cui astringitur vacet, nec se fedat exterioribus ocupacionibus in detrimentum cultus divini, precipimus in virtute obediencie ut prior curet de officio presentorie ita quod presentor officio suo tantum vacet diurno et nocturno ut tenetur in choro, nullo modo alteri ocupacione exterius sub quovis colore intendat, quodque pro tempore preterito reddat compotum infra mensem. Et de cetero faciat scribi libros illi officio necessarios nec in alios usus quam officii sui bona precentorie expendere quoquo modo presumat."

The hours for the daily and nightly services which the Precentor superintended, were regulated by a clock which was kept in the Church :—" Surgat conventus horis congruis nocturnis diurnis per orilogium quod decens et securum in ecclesia haberi precipimus, et per monachum circumspectum salvo custodiri pro divinis officiis adimplendis quibus expletis non anticipando tempus nec minus prorogando."

The Custos de klok was paid every year by the Sacrist. The following entry gives the price of a new clock purchased in the reign of Edward III. :—" Custos de klok. Soluti Alano clocker pro le klok de novo faciendo hoc anno iiij^{li}. vjs. viij^d. ex convencione, dati eidem ex curialitate ijs. iiij^d., dati custodienti le klok hoc anno vjs. viij^d."

Sacrist's roll,
45 Ed. III.
{ 25 Jan. 1371. }
{ 24 Jan. 1372. }

The residences of the Sacrist and Eleemosinarius occupied the south side of the street once known as Steeple-row, and were part of the north-eastern boundary of the Priory.

The Almery, which was built near one of the gates

of the Priory, is now represented by the narrow building which faces the market-place. A kitchen was at the west end of its great hall, and the site of the chapel mentioned in the following passage was on the north.

Lambeth Palace
Library MSS.,
No. 448.
Harl. 329,
Survey of Ely.

“Item Eleemosinarius tenetur invenire unum presbiterum celebrantem in capellâ S. Martini pro benefactoribus et fratribus vivis et mortuis.” The chapel was over seven shops, which projected from the walls of the almery into the market-place. Thus much may be learnt from an entry in the survey of Ely which was made when Bishop Fordham occupied the see.

4 Hen. V.

{ 21 Mar. 1416.
20 Mar. 1417. }

“Omnia tenementa a dicto tenemento Wyssetres a cornera de Brod lanes end, usque ad murum sacristariæ Eliensis quæ est de feodo Episcopi cum septem seldis subtus capellam. . . . et dictæ septem seldæ continent in latitudine a muro eleemosinarii versus boream duas virgas et tria quarteria unius virgæ de vergis ferri domini Regis.”

It is quite possible that the low buildings which now stand on the north side of the High Street, between the market-place and the wall of the almery, occupy the site of the shops alluded to in the passage just quoted.

The Almoner received the rents of estates at Stretham and Ely, to distribute as alms, and the rectory of Foxton was given to his office for the same purpose by Bishop Balsham. On the death of a monk, he received twenty shillings, to be given away to the poor, and the fragments of bread and meat which were collected at the tables of the Prior, refectory, and strangers' hostelry were at his disposal, for the relief of the sick and needy.

History of Ely,
by James
Bentham,
p. 128.

The bread and alms given away on the obits and anniversaries observed in the Priory, amounted to £30 a year.

Immediately to the west of the almery once stood

the residence of the Sacrist, which was rebuilt under the superintendence of Alan de Walsyngham himself. A sacristy planned and completed by a man who not only knew thoroughly what the duties of a Sacrist were, but had also fulfilled them with rare ability and power, would have had various and uncommon interests; but his work has been destroyed with a zealous determination to uproot all its original arrangements, and nothing remains but bare walls and defaced masonry. The private office in which he kept his counting-board, while the works connected with the cathedral were under his direction, and the goldsmith's shop for the preparation of gold-leaf to be used in decorating the stone and iron work, stood within the walls which enclosed that portion of the Priory in which his authority was paramount, but like the horse-mill and "wyn-seller" of his establishment, they have disappeared and left no memorial of their existence.

Not far from the Sacristy a charnel-house once stood, connected with an old cemetery for strangers and laics, on the north side of the church, which is frequently mentioned in Bishop Fordham's survey and other documents.

There was another churchyard on the south of the presbytery, occupying the space between it and the infirmary, on the east of the chapter-house, and this was probably the burial-place of the monks and Priors; an arrangement resembling that adopted at Durham.

According to the Commissioners' order, the holder of the second stall was to receive a portion of this churchyard along with the painted chamber, out of which his residence was to be constructed. It apparently extended to the east of the church generally, as stone coffins have been found in the piece of ground known as The Hundred Acres, which lies between the presbytery and Lady Chapel.

This phrase, The Hundred Acres, is evidently a corruption of some old term, whose meaning has been either forgotten or misunderstood.

The centry, or cemetery garth, at Durham, was placed in a position corresponding very closely to that assigned to the monks' graveyard at Ely.

It occupied a piece of ground "att the easte end of the chapter howse," which was used in saying the service for the dead.

When a monk died at Durham, his body was wound up in his cowl and habit by the convent barber, carried to a chamber in the infirmary, called the dead man's chamber, and left there till night, when it was removed to S. Andrew's Chapel.

Two monks and "the chyldren of th' Aumery sitting on there knees in stalls of eyther syd the corpes," read "David's psalter all nyght over" incessantly till eight o'clock in the morning, when the remains of the deceased brother were borne to the chapter-house, and met by the Prior and brethren. "And, after there devocion, the dead corpes was caryed by the Mounckes from the chapter house thorowgh the parler betwixt the chapter house and the church dour, and so throwghe the said parler into the sentuarie garth."

There were once two ways of getting from the presbytery to the Lady Chapel, but, with the exception of the door-arches, both these connecting passages have been destroyed. They were probably distinct from each other, and constructed so as to provide a private as well as a public communication between the two buildings. The general passage went from the north aisle of the presbytery across The Hundred Acres into the chapel, and the special one was carried on vaults along the wall of the chapel and transept of the cathedral.

The last trace of the site occupied by the common covered way, between the two main entrances, was

removed a few years ago, when the fragments of its pavement were taken up and transferred to the east transept of the Cathedral. From the disposition of the patterns in which the tiles had been arranged, it is almost certain that the pavement had been laid in a straight line from the one doorway to the other. The private gallery took another direction.

There is a small door to the east of the chief entrance to the Lady Chapel, which seems to have led from the chapel into a narrow gallery, carried on vaults through the Lady Chapel buttresses, and over the public passage from the Presbytery; but where it ended is anything but clear. It may have opened into the ordinary thoroughfare between the two churches, but it is more likely that it was carried in front of the transept, and that it was constructed to provide a private approach from the cathedral to the altar platform of the chapel, which was reserved for the convenience of the Prior and certain privileged monks.

The traces of this gallery which still exist are such as might be left by a wooden structure resting partly on stone vaults, but they are too imperfect to be of much value.

The buttresses of the chapel on the south side are pierced with arches at a certain height from the ground, and on the face of the ashler, between them, there are the remains of vault-ribs. The small door into the chapel of course remains undisturbed. Private passages, which enabled the Prior of a convent to observe secretly at any time what was going on at all the altars in his church, were not uncommon in cathedrals.

When the Surveyors visited Ely in the 17th century, the space between the Presbytery and Lady Chapel was occupied by the residences of the almsmen, which were partly built on the arches or vaults of this gallery.

“The Almes Men’s Roomes, *July 9, 1649.*

“The Almes men’s Roomes are scittuat betweene the cathedrall and the Ladyes Chappell, now the parish church of Trynity in Ely, by an agreement betweene Dr. Perne and the Bishop and Parishioners upon consideration, and consisteth of one roome below staires, and a little butterry, in the occupation of Eliz Ward widow, and above staires 3 roomes and a little butterry in the occupation of Mr. Jo. Bradford containing in length 38 foote, and another roome over them with a chimney in it called a garratt tyled and part leaded, containing in length 28¹ and in lat. 17 foote, covered with lead.

“Memorandum. The lead is worth to be sold over and above the charge of takeing of it downe and covering of it with timber lathes and tyles ye summe of:—

“Item. Another building consistinge of 3 roomes one with another built over several arches belonging to the said parish church and now in the occupation of Robert Bullis clerk of the parish, and are covered with tyles worth per annum 12s.

“*July 9th, 1649.*”

These rooms were, perhaps, not altogether modern encroachments, for there were certainly dwellings connected with the Lady Chapel in the reign of Henry VI., and they may have existed before that. This point is settled by the following entry which is found in the accounts kept by the keeper of the Lady Chapel, about the middle of the reign of Henry VI:—

22 Hen. VI.

{ 1 Sept. 1443. }

{ 31 Aug. 1444. }

“Reparaciones domorum. . . . Ac de novo faciendo unam domum vocatam lodge in tenemento Johannis Peyke simul cum una parva domo subtus capellam beate Marie Virginis emendanda et in xxiiij. stodis et sparis, et xv. hobildyngs empt’ ad diversa pretia pro dictis, viijs. viid.”

Although it may be impossible to prove that the

buildings thus mentioned were the Almsmen's rooms, which the Surveyors visited 200 years later, yet it is clear that dwelling-houses were connected with the Lady Chapel in the 15th century, and as it is known that there was a cemetery, and the sacristy on the north side of the chapel, it is at least probable that the houses stood on the south side of it, and that they remained there till the 17th century.

Near Walpol's Gate House there is a mound, which has now got the name of Cherry-hill, but which was known to the Surveyors as the Mill-hill, from a wind-mill which it may be supposed once occupied it.

This fact is established by the following memorandum made by the Surveyors:—

“Mem. Mrs. Mary Wibrow holds a piece of ground beyond the Porter's lodge, behind the stables, called a garden plott, abutting north upon the barns and stables, and (towards the south upon Mr. Marsh's land) is walled with a brick wall upon the south-west, cont. on that side, 50 paces, and on the other 39 paces; and in lat. 29 paces, worth per annum, *xxs.*, and next the Mill-hill, north-east, paled, and containing, by estimation, 1 rood.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

This plan of the city of Ely is a reduction of a much larger one which was made some years ago for the Tithe Commutation Office. Since the date of that survey, some buildings have been pulled down and new ones erected in Broad Lane and other places; but as these changes have not disturbed any of those old lanes or tenements whose position the plan is intended to show, they have not been inserted.

The figures refer to sites mentioned in the account of the city drawn up during the episcopate of Bishop Fordham. Chap. VIII.

1. The Briggemead.
2. Potter's Lane.
3. Croyle's Lane.
4. Caldwell Fen—now Cawdle Fen.
5. Caldwell Ditch.
6. The Duff-house Yerd.
7. Vinetum Prioris.
8. Flex Lane.
9. Baldok's Lane.
10. Barker's Lane.
11. Wynferthing Lane.
12. Seggewyk. Leasehold of the Dean and Chapter.
13. Ferrow's Lane.
14. Liles Lane—now Bull Lane.
15. Liles Close—now Bull Lane Close.
16. Brayes Lane.
17. Alleynsyn Cook. Site not identified.
18. Bocheria.
19. Brode Lane, towards Newenham.
20. Newenham.
21. Blythinghall Lane. Site not identified.
22. Schendeforth Lane.
23. The Red Cross.
24. Akyrman Strate—now Egremen Street.
25. Brayes Orchard.
26. Cattes Lane.

27. The Archdeacon's Tenement.
 - 27.* John Duke's House.
 28. Mepsales Corner, or Le Stone.
 29. Downham Strate.
 30. Smales Corner.
 31. Mepsales Tenement. Site not identified.
 32. Street leading to Wichford.
 33. Hospital of S. John.
 34. The Grange, or Sextry Barn.
 35. Cherche Lane.
 36. Ketenes Place. Leasehold of Dean and Chapter.
 37. Walpol Lane, or Swalugh Lane.
 38. Kilbyes Corner.
 39. Stepil Row.
 40. Mariotstede.
 41. Auntresdale.
 42. Stok-hithe.
 43. Brod-hithe.
 44. Monkys-hithe.
 45. Comyn Stathe.
 46. Castel-hithe.
-

PLATE II.

The Sextry Barn, of which the plan is inserted in this plate, has been totally destroyed, but its site near the parish church of S. Mary is very easily found. The houses near the church are apparently built out of the remains of the old Grange.

PLATE III.

The plan of the foundation of the Norman presbytery, which is printed in page 25, has not been incorporated with this general plan of the Cathedral, in order to avoid the confusion which would be caused by crowding so many lines into a small space.

The position of the original presbytery in relation to the present one is shown in the duplicate plan of the western portion of Hugh de Northwold's work, which is figured No. 9.

The early English presbytery is about three times the length of the Norman one.

As there is great uncertainty respecting the burial-places of the Priors and Bishops, no attempt has been made to mark the supposed sites on the plan.

PLATE IV.

The original state of the presbytery is shown at the right hand, and the parts indicated by capital letters. The altered condition shown at the left hand is marked by small letters respectively corresponding to the capitals.

C. The central alley.

D, d. The side ailes.

E, e. The triforium galleries.

F, f. The upper flying buttresses, which transmit the outward thrust of the roof timbers to the vertical buttresses and pinnacles.

G, H; g, h. The lower flying buttress, which similarly transmit the thrust of the vault at V, v.

G, H is the line of the original sloping roof of the triforium gallery.

H, K. Section of the wall which remains in two southern compartments. But in these compartments the roof G, H is wanting, and the arch, which opens from E to the central alley, is closed by a window, as explained in the text. The roof of these two compartments is in the position I, K, so as to leave the intruded window free to receive the light from without.

h, k. Section of the high external triforium wall and window, which sustains the roof h, g, whose inclination is just sufficient to throw off the water.

L. A gargoyle to discharge the roof waters, which are conveyed to it by a gutter on the upper surface of the flying buttress, and along an aperture made through the pinnacle shaft, thereby introducing damp and frost into the masonry.

In the altered form a much better arrangement is adopted. The waters from the roof are conveyed to the flat, g, h, and thence discharged by a gargoyle, h, l, at the side of the vertical buttress.

Q, q are the stumps of pinnacles which were probably never erected.

m, n. The portion of buttress which has been allowed to remain unaltered in the whole of the presbytery.

n, p. The altered portion, as described in the text.

The early English side aile windows throughout the presbytery have been removed, and tracery windows substituted.

M, P, m, p, are vertical dotted lines drawn from the front of the buttresses to show more clearly the setting inward of the new pinnacle.

PLATE V.

1. Capital of Wall arch of Great Tabernacle in Prior's Chapel.
2. Capital of Lower stage of Great Tabernacle in Prior's Chapel.
- 3, 4, 5. Capitals of Vault piers of Prior's Chapel.
6. Capital of Scoinson piers: West window of Prior's Chapel.
- 7, 8. Capitals of West window of Prior's Chapel.
9. Capital of Side compartment of Great Tabernacle in Prior's Chapel.
- 10—16. Bases in West transept: Bishop Ridel's work.
- 17, 18. Bases: East window of Prior's Chapel.
19. Shaft ring mold: Bishop Ridel's work.
- 20, 21. Table mold: base of Great Tabernacle: Prior's Chapel.
22. Sub-arch mold of Triforium: East wall of West transept.
23. Arch mold of top gallery: West transept: Bishop Ridel's work.
24. Edge mold of Spandril panels in West tower: East wall: Bishop Ridel's work.
25. Arch mold of Lowest tier of windows of West tower: Bishop Ridel's work.
26. Table mold of West tower: Bishop Ridel's work.
- 27, 28. Jamb and window arch mold: West transept: Bishop Ridel's work.
29. Arch mold of Clerestory: Nave.
30. Arch mold of 2nd Gallery from top: West transept.
31. Arch mold of 2nd Arcade from top: West transept.
- 32, 33. Abacus and base mold of Triforium arcade: East wall, West transept.
34. Base mold of Sub-shaft: Great arch of Triforium: East wall, West transept.
35. Section of wall through the Great Tabernacle: Prior's Chapel.
36. Arch mold of Great Tabernacle: Prior's Chapel.
37. Tracery mold of West window: Prior's Chapel.
38. Mullion mold of West window: Prior's Chapel.
- 39, 40. Tracery molds of East window: Prior's Chapel.
41. Vault rib of East compartment: Prior's Chapel.
42. Vault rib: from Mason's lines: Prior's Chapel.
- 43, 44. External table molds of Prior's Chapel.
45. Battlements: Lowside window of Prior's Chapel.
- 46, 47. Section of wall through lowside and side windows of Prior's Chapel.
48. Section of side window-sill of Prior's Chapel.
49. Section of lowside window-sill of Prior's Chapel.

- 50—55. Section of bench table, bases and bands of Vault pier, &c. of the Prior's Chapel. N.B.—The letters refer to Figure 47.
56. Sketch explanatory of Figures 47—55.
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PLATE VI.

1. Capital of Triforium, outside: Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
2. Capital of Eastern triplet: Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
3. Capital of Angle pier: East wall of Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
- 4, 5. Capital of Clerestory: East wall of Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
- 6 & 7. Capitals of Refectory.
8. Section of parapet of Triforium: Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
9. Table mold below open arcade of Triforium: Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
10. Arch mold and Sub-arch of Triforium: Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
11. Arch mold of Triforium: Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
12. External arch mold of South Triforium window: Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
13. Wall rib of West porch.
14. Pier arch mold of Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
15. Vault rib of Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
- 16, 17. Arch molds of outer arcades of West porch: 1st and 2nd tier from ground. 16 is the variation introduced in the 2nd tier.
18. Arch mold of Scoinson arch of East door of West porch.
19. Wall rib of Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
20. Shaft ring mold of Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
21. Sill table mold of Eastern triplet: Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
22. Abacus mold of Pier arches: Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
23. Plan of Clerestory piers of Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
24. Arch mold of West door arch: West porch.
25. Arch mold of East door arch: West porch.

26. Arch mold of West door arch: East side: West porch.
27. Pier arch mold of West porch.
28. Abacus mold of Pier arches: West porch.
29. Plan of Respond pier of Refectory.
30. Edge mold of Spandril panels inside the West porch
31. Vault rib of open arcade vaults: West porch.
32. Vault ribs: Diagonals: West porch.
33. Wall rib of open arcade vaults: West porch.
34. Table mold over pier arches of West porch.
35. Table mold of high Plinth: West porch.
36. Base mold of Small shafts of Clerestory of Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
37. Base mold of Triforium of Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
- 38, 39. Base mold of Wall shafts of Refectory.
40. Arch mold of Upper arcade inside the West porch.
41. Shaft ring mold of Clerestory: East end of Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
42. External Jamb mold of Triforium: Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
43. External arch mold of Triforium: Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
44. Internal arch mold of Eastern triplet: Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.
45. Internal arch mold of Clerestory: Presbytery of Hugh de Northwold.

PLATE VII.

1. Arch mold of large Window as repaired in Walpol's gate house. The left hand section represents original Jamb mold.
2. Arch mold of great gate arch: East wall of Walpol's gate house.
3. Arch mold of great gate arch: West wall of Walpol's gate house.
- 4 & 5. Arch mold of small door arch: East wall of Walpol's gate house.
6. Tracery mold of great window: Walpol's gate house.
7. Arch mold of Triforium, north side: Presbytery of John de Hotham.
8. Arch mold of Clerestory Scoinson, north side of Presbytery of John de Hotham.

9. Mold of tracery : junction of Presbytery vault and Lantern : Presbytery of John de Hotham.
10. Mason's lines on one of the stones of the Spandril solid of the vault of the Prior's Chapel.
11. Table mold of Buttresses of the Lady Chapel.
12. Capital of Scoinson arch, Triforium, north side of Presbytery of John de Hotham.
13. Capital of Scoinson arch: North side aisle: Presbytery of John de Hotham.
14. Capital of Scoinson arch: North side aisle: Presbytery of John de Hotham.
15. External cornice mold of Clerestory : Presbytery of John de Hotham.
16. Capital and base mold : South side aisle: Presbytery of John de Hotham.
17. Capital and base mold: north Triforium : Presbytery of John de Hotham.
18. Capital and base mold of Vault shaft: north Triforium, Presbytery of John de Hotham.
- 19, 20. Jamb mold, and Plan of sub-arch pier of west compartment of south Triforium: Presbytery of John de Hotham. The section shows variations from complete arch mold given in No. 23.
21. Pier arch mold: South side of Presbytery of John de Hotham.
22. Pier arch mold: North side of Presbytery of John de Hotham.
23. Arch mold of centre compartment of south Triforium: Presbytery of John de Hotham.
24. Arch mold of West tower.
25. Vault ribs of Presbytery of John de Hotham.
26. Mullion molds: north Clerestory: Presbytery of John de Hotham.
27. Edge mold of Spandril panels : south Triforium : Presbytery of John de Hotham.

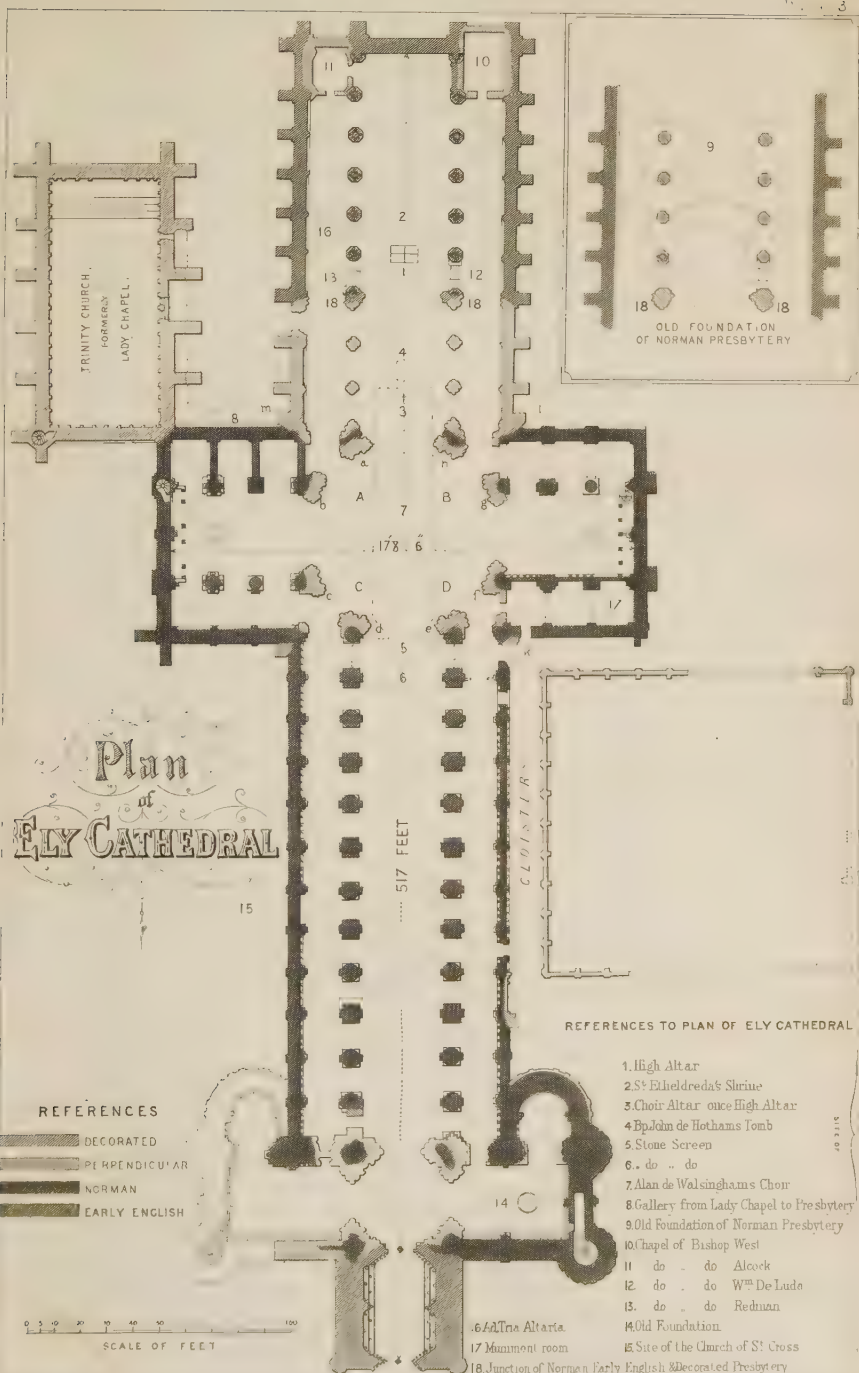
PLATE VIII.

1. Arch mold of West tower.
- 2 & 3. Basement piers: North and South sides of Presbytery of John de Hotham.
4. Table mold: base of Great Tabernacles of Lantern.
5. Arch mold of Scoinson arch of great well windows: Presbytery of John de Hotham.

6. Edge mold of Pier behind Lantern pier: Presbytery of John de Hotham.
 7. Tracery mold of Scoinson arch of Great well windows: Presbytery of John de Hotham.
 8. Vault ribs of Wooden lantern: Presbytery of John de Hotham.
 9. Battlements of Great Tabernacles: Presbytery of John de Hotham.
 10. Jamb mold: Side compartments of Great Tabernacles: Presbytery of John de Hotham.
 11. Table mold below Great well windows of Lantern.
 12. Capital: Side compartments of Great Tabernacles: Lantern.
 13. Base mold: Walpol's gate house.
 14. Arch mold of South aisle window, and Scoinson arch: Presbytery of John de Hotham.
 - 15 & 16. Arch and tracery mold of South aisle window, and Scoinson arch: Presbytery of John de Hotham.
 17. Arch mold of North aisle window and Scoinson: arch Presbytery; inserted by Bishop Grey.
 18. Arch mold of North aisle window, and Scoinson arch: Presbytery, "Ad tria Altaria."
 - 19 & 20. Arch and tracery mold of North aisle window, and Scoinson arch: Presbytery of John de Hotham.
-



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SECTION OF THE PRESBYTERY

Plate 4

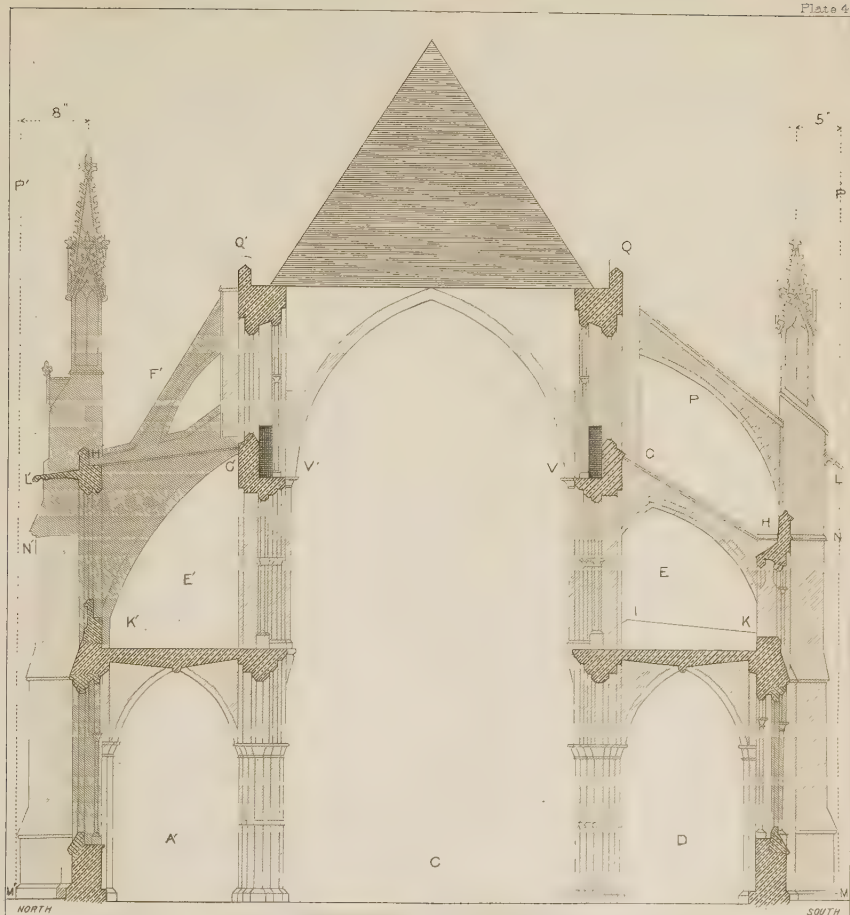
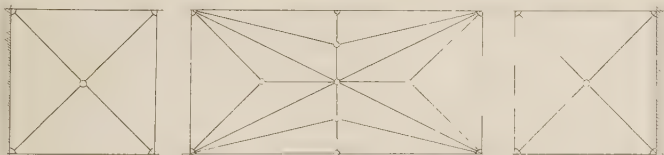
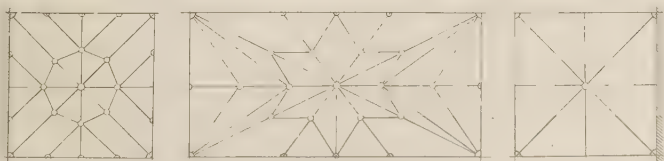


FIG. B. PRESENT STATE FIG. A. ORIGINAL STATE

OR ORIGINAL CONSTRUCTION ALTERATION & INSERTIONS



PLAN OF VAULT, BISHOP HUGH DE NORTHWOLD'S PRESBYTERY.



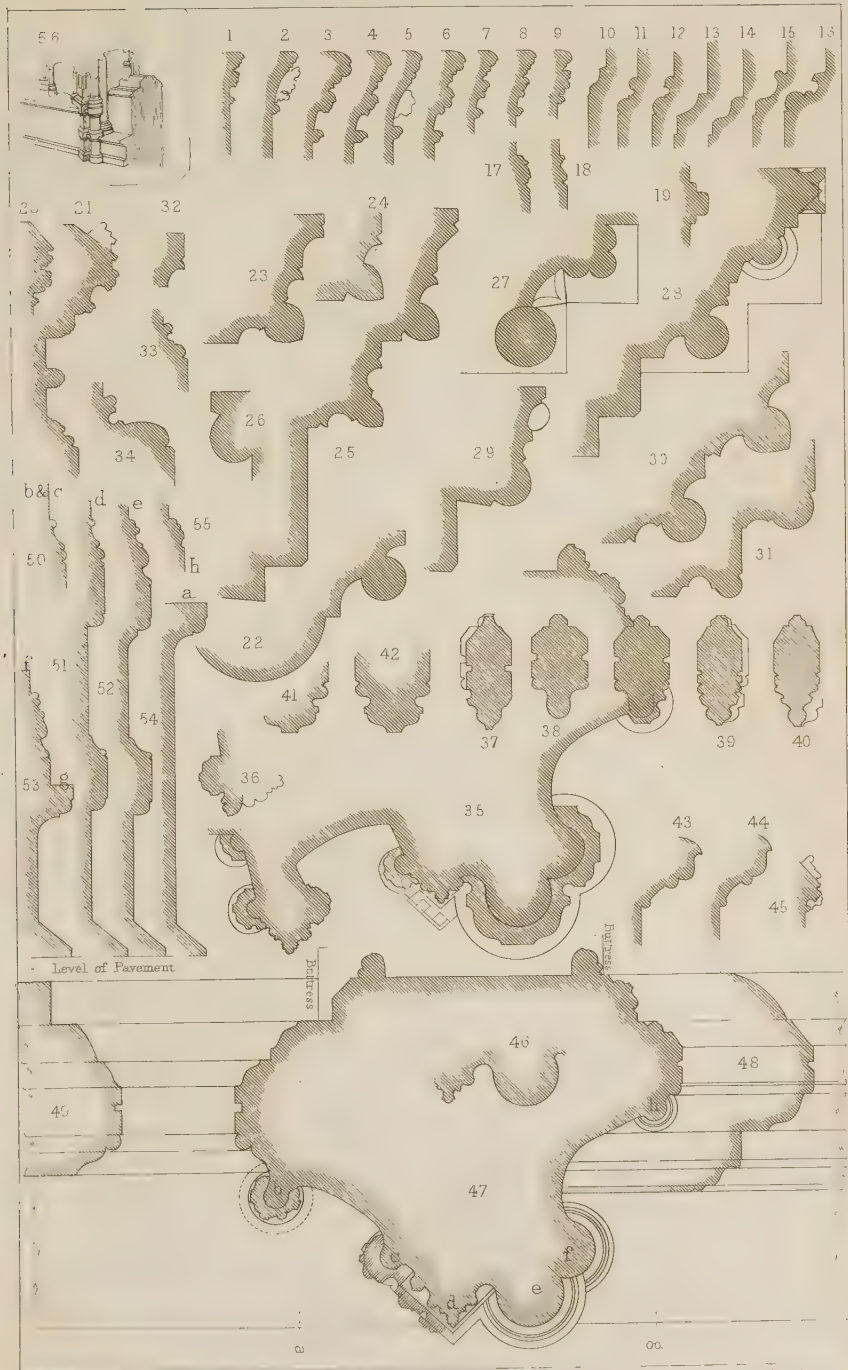
PLAN OF VAULT, BISHOP JOHN DE HOTHAM'S PRESBYTERY.

0 5 10 20 30 40 50
SCALE OF FEET

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DETAILS OF WEST TRANSEPT & PRIORS CHAPEL.

Plate 5.



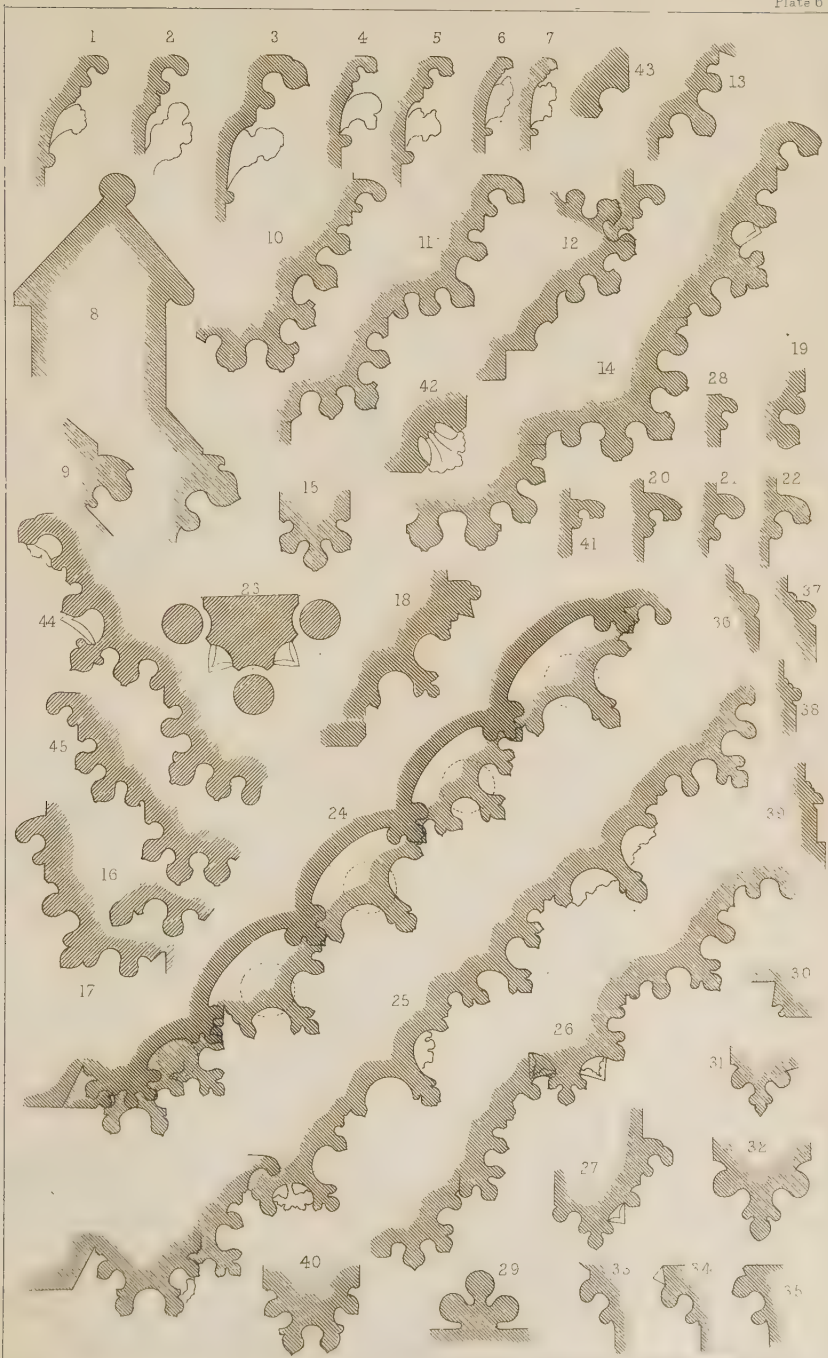
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G. B. Smith sc.

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DETAILS OF PRESBYTERY & WEST PORCH.

Plate 6

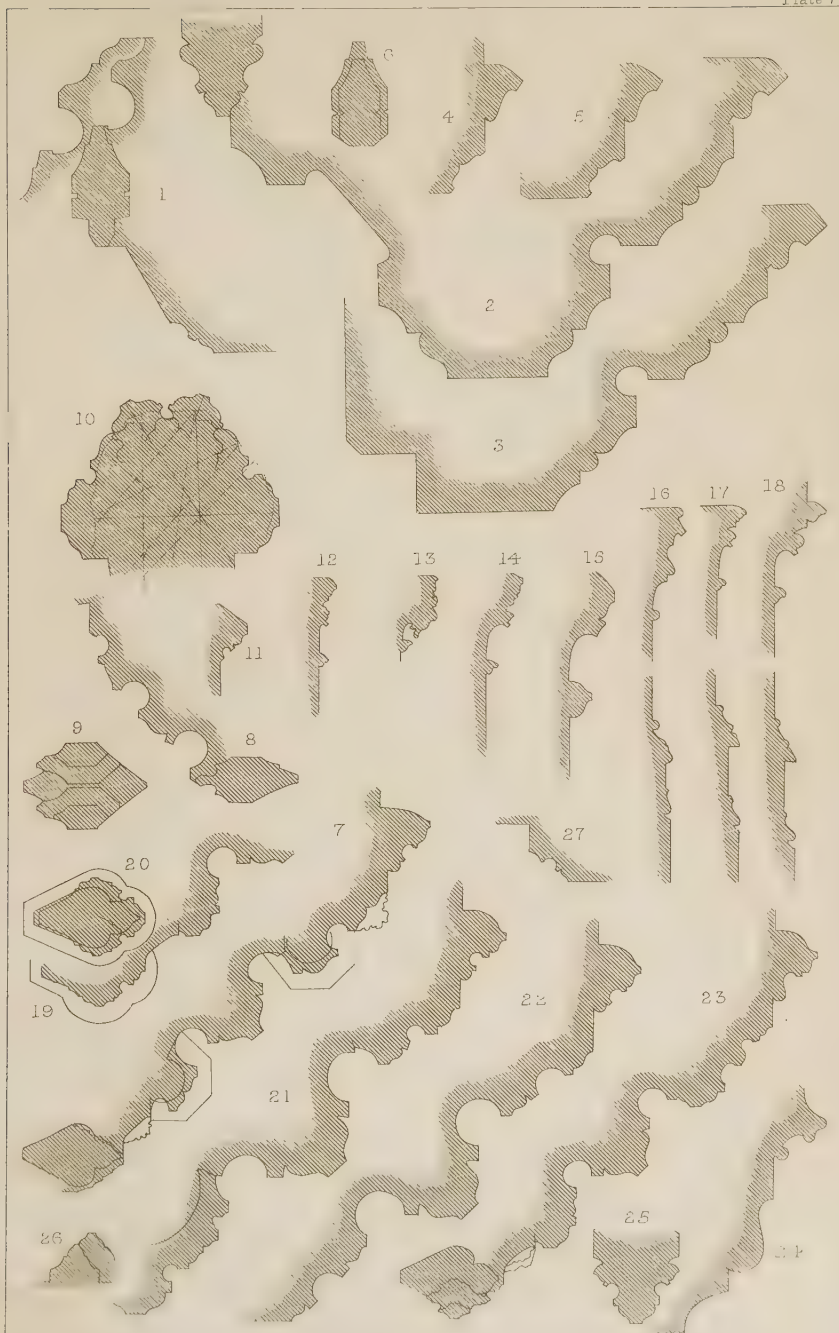


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DETAILS OF PRESBYTERY, GATE HOUSE, &c.

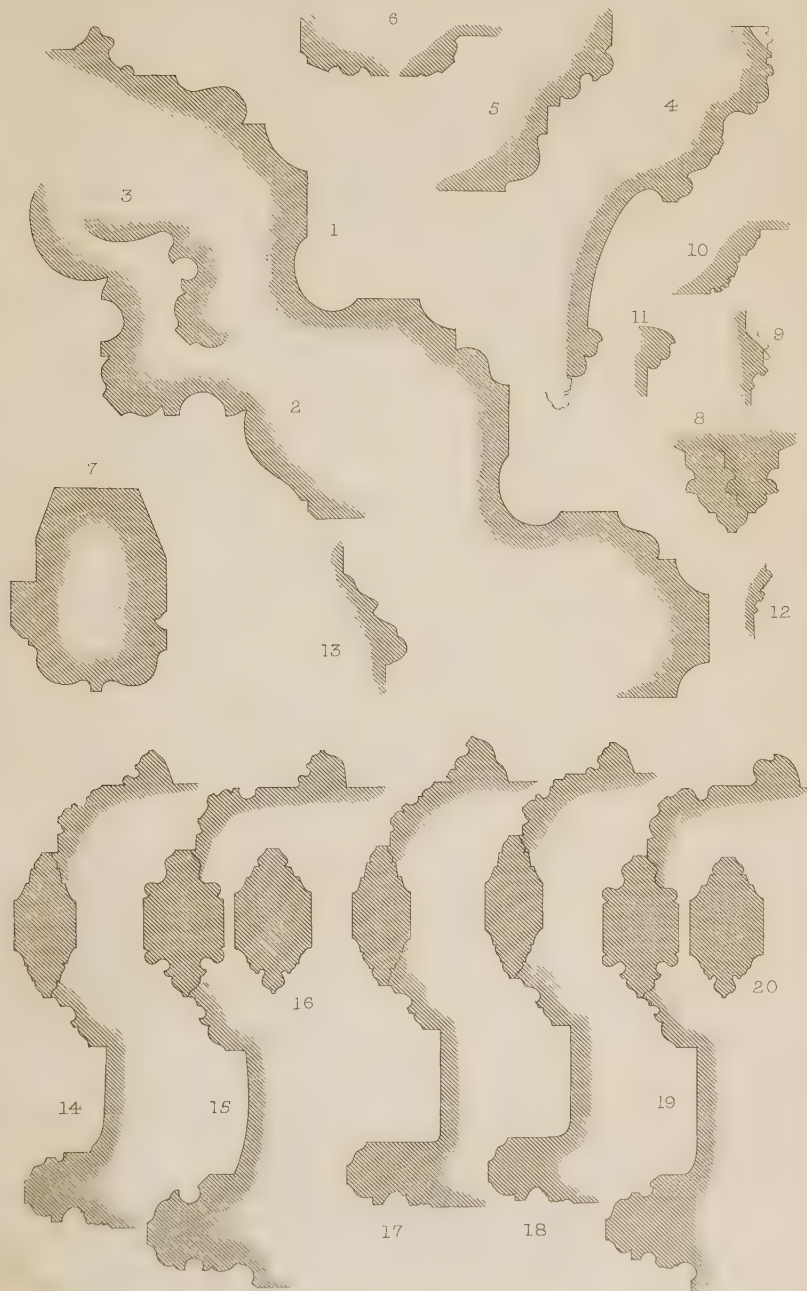
Plate 7.



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ELY CATHEDRAL, DETAILS OF PRESBYTERY & LANTERN.

plate 8







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On the architectural history of Ely Cathedral.

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London, John van Voorst, 1868.

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viii, 296p. illus., plates (part fold.)

23cm.

1. Ely Cathedral. I. Title. II. Title: The
architectural history of Ely Cathedral.

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